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THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI.]

MARCH, 1905

[NUMBER 1



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PRICE: FIFTY CENTS PER NUMBER, TWO DOLLARS PER YEAR

Entered at the post office at Portland, Oregon, as second-class matter.

THE OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 17, 1898

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The Quarterly is sent free to all members of the Society. The annual dues are two dollars. The fee for life membership is twenty-five dollars.

Contributions to *The Quarterly* and correspondence relative to historical materials, or pertaining to the affairs of this Society, should be addressed to

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THE QUARTERLY

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THE HIGHER SIGNIFICANCE IN THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPLORATION.

I.

**The Idea of Transcontinental Exploration an Integral Part of
the Life Purposes of Thomas Jefferson.**

It is proposed in this paper to call attention to the subjective side of the Lewis and Clark exploration—to the real nature of the project when first conceived and the wider motives associated with it. The spirit and aims of him who long fostered such an undertaking, who brought it to realization, and who controlled the execution of it will be inquired into. The thought and purposes with which the idea of this enterprise was bound up in the mind and heart of Thomas Jefferson will be pointed out.

We shall find the idea of the exploration of this continent one deeply cherished by him because it fitted in as an essential condition for the attainment of the leading aims of his life. It was an integral part of them; and if ever there was a mind in which there was perfect unity and consistency and organic correlation of ideas along with widest interests, that mind was Thomas Jefferson's. His was the spacious design of a continent to be kept inviolate for American freedom, equality, and enlightenment; and his plan for transcontinental exploration was part

and parcel with his aims for negro emancipation, complete freedom of conscience, a system of universal education, with a great university at its apex, promotion of science and invention and normal conditions of life for every American.

Dr. Elliott Coues, in his edition of the Lewis and Clark Journals, speaks of the story of the expedition as "our national epic of exploration." So it is. But the expedition in the design of its author—and therefore in fact—was more than a mere geographical exploration. It was a consciously purposed step toward securing this continent for the home of freedom and of peace and good-will. So imbued was this project with the central purposes of Jefferson's life that it objectively typifies all. It prefigures an enlargement of the bounds of the known, an extension of the realm of enlightenment, science, and the arts, a widening of the sway of peace and good-will, and the securing of a grander home for the institutions of liberty and equality. Our history has been a progress toward democracy. Jefferson was the seer and prophet of democracy as a form of society. The idea exemplified in the Lewis and Clark expedition was representative of Jefferson; we have in it, therefore, the quintessence of democracy and the spirit of our age. Whatever may be the significance of this achievement viewed objectively, considered in its plan and purpose, as every achievement must be, its import is much higher.

Transcontinental Exploration an External and Preliminary Feature in a Larger Design.

The external phases of this undertaking, or the execution of what was but a preliminary feature in the design of Jefferson by Lewis and Clark and their company, are being exploited and celebrated as a heroic achievement should be. During the last three or four years the presses

of the land have labored with the output of a score of editors, compilers, and commentators working with the records of this exploration.¹

There has, however, been a strange silence, and even a total misapprehension until recently, regarding the initial impulse to the exploration and the higher purposes cherished in connection with it by its promoter. It was the common and almost universal notion of the writers of books describing this exploration that it was undertaken as a sequel to the Louisiana purchase, and that it was an incident in the taking possession of and acquainting ourselves with that territory. The truth is rather the converse of this. The acquisition of the Louisiana Territory was but an obtruding incident into the earlier and larger plan of Jefferson's concerned with spanning the continent with exploration, commerce, and settlement as the home for American conditions of liberty, equality, and enlightenment. In this original and larger idea the project of transcontinental exploration was to be the first overt and representative act.

Unfortunately, however, the presence of powerful neighbors in the Mississippi Valley with the lust for colonial possessions precipitated a diplomatic struggle for the control of that region. For the twenty years before the exploring expedition could be set on foot intrigue and incipient filibustering, having in view the permanent occupation of the interior of the continent, ran their devious courses and with doubtful issues. The triumphant culmination for our country of this contest in the purchase of Louisiana Territory was due to Jefferson more than to any other one man. The cooler judgment of Washington stood us in good stead in the crisis in 1792, and the hard-

¹ "The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," edited by R. G. Thwaites and published by Dodd, Mead & Company, in its "biographical data" mentions fourteen such works as appearing during the last four years.

headed and patriotic good sense of John Adams gave the right turn to affairs in 1798; but first and last it was the alert, adroit, and vigorous diplomacy of Jefferson, with his passion for peace and faith in the people, that was most powerfully effective in winning the heart of the continent. The primacy of Jefferson in conceiving and ardently cherishing the idea of the American control of this continent as a whole, and the perfecting of American ideals on it, and his having the largest part in the realizing of that idea, can not be questioned. His Lewis and Clark exploration was an integral and initial part of it all. It is fitted to symbolize all. It surely enhances the significance of what was accomplished by the fortitude, courage, skill, and devotion of the noble captains, Lewis and Clark, and their men to find this higher and more sustaining human interest in this exploration because of what Jefferson planned and purposed with it.

**His Vision Reached the Pacific Even When Handling
the Louisiana Matter.**

That Jefferson in his thought regarding the future of this continent was far in advance of the development of events is shown by the position he took when our government was for the first time called upon to meet an emergency that threatened to have far-reaching influence on the destiny of this continent. In 1790 the Nootka Sound controversy brought England and Spain to the verge of war. In the event of war England would in all probability send a force from the Great Lakes across our territory to the Mississippi River and down that stream to take New Orleans from Spain. As Secretary of State Jefferson was ready with suggestions of alliance with poor Spain, if our interests demanded it; and as the price of that alliance moved for the independence of Florida and Louisiana or the cession to us of a port near the mouth of the

Mississippi, "with a circumjacent territory," through which we could command the interior and thus keep the whole region out of the grasp of England. Toward England, on the other hand, he had our agent instructed as to consequences of that nation's acquiring Louisiana and Florida, "and required him to intimate to the English government that 'a due balance on our borders is not less desirable to us than a balance of power in Europe has always appeared to them.' " Neutrality was offered to England conditioned on her relinquishment of her encroachments on our northwest border and her attempting no conquests adjoining us on the west and south. "Thus," says Professor Frederick J. Turner in an article, "The Diplomatic Contest for the Mississippi Valley," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1904, "we see Jefferson's Louisiana system fully unfolded as early as 1790 . . . there is at the same time a firm grasp of the importance of the Mississippi and the Gulf to the future of the United States, and a far-sighted vision of our need of a doctrine of balance of power in the New World,—a germ of the Monroe Doctrine."

As the "Kentucky Resolutions" and many expressions in his earlier writings indicate, Jefferson did not for a time fully appreciate the principle of federation and union. With his heart set on policies of peace and local autonomy—and the revolution to be made by the application of the power of steam to transportation not yet above the horizon—he had no use, except for defense against foreign aggression, for a strong central government. His vision of the future of the American continent at first always included several peoples, yet termed "one family" because having in common, as opposed to the European systems, American institutions of liberty, equality, and enlightenment. But by 1815 he could write to La Fayette, "The cement of this union is in the heart-blood of every American."

Jefferson was thus the first Pan-American. That he was also first of all an American and that his pro-French sympathies counted as nothing when brought into conflict with this feeling for what humanity had at stake in America is strongly subscribed to by the French Minister Adet when, striving to secure the election of Jefferson to the presidency in 1796, he reported to his government an estimate of Jefferson's character. He said: "I do not know whether, as I am told, we will always find in him a man entirely devoted to our interests. Mr. Jefferson likes us because he detests England; he seeks to unite with us because he suspects us less than Great Britain, but he would change his sentiments towards us to-morrow, perhaps, if to-morrow Great Britain ceased to inspire him with fear. Jefferson, although a friend of liberty and the sciences, although an admirer of the efforts we have made to break our chains and dissipate the clouds of ignorance which weigh upon mankind, Jefferson, I say, is an American, and, by that title it is impossible for him to be sincerely our friend. An American is the born enemy of European peoples."²

Jefferson's antipathy to European institutions was the result of experience and was fairly warranted, as the contrast between the political conditions in Europe and America at the opening of the nineteenth century was not greatly different from that between those in Russia and America at the opening of the twentieth century. How true Adet's surmise was and how utterly Jefferson's French leanings were to disappear when they clashed with his solicitude for the largest future of a greater America was demonstrated a few years later. The Jefferson that was the author of the idea of a transcontinental

² Quoted by Professor Turner in the second installment of the article referred to, *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1904.

exploration and of the great life purposes linked with that idea discloses himself in the now famous passages in the letter to Robert Livingston, written on April 18, 1802, as soon as he was certain Napoleon had secured Louisiana Territory from Spain. He said: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans. The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. . . . Make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlements she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations." Why this fierce outburst? Why did France so unwittingly bring down upon herself this deluge of wrath? There had been no closing of the door as yet at New Orleans. It is because Jefferson had in his heart long cherished the idea of our coming in the natural course of events into the possession of the empire of the west, even to the shores of the Pacific. With Louisiana in possession of the vigorous, energetic, and rising France instead of in the weak and nerveless grasp of Spain the way westward was barred. It is true he mentions New Orleans as though it was the exclusive bone of contention, and his specific language in this passage does not indicate special concern for the territory west of the Mississippi. In a later passage of the same letter, however, referring to the possibility of the willingness of France's "ceding to us the island of New Orleans and the Floridas," as an arrangement to reconcile us to her possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, he says: "But still we should consider New Orleans and the Floridas as no equivalent

for the risk of a quarrel with France produced by her vicinage." His disturbance of mind evidently did not arise alone from the danger of the French occupation of the mouth of the Mississippi.

It is a unique suggestion, too, of his that in case France takes possession of New Orleans the first cannon fired in Europe should be "the signal . . . for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the United British and American nations." We shall see presently that Jefferson had very definite ideals that he wished realized, in at least, the northern continent of America.

The letter in which the passages quoted above occur was intrusted to M. Dupont De Nemours who was just returning to Paris from America. Jefferson left the letter to Livingston unsealed and writes to Dupont "It is the second, third, and fourth pages [those relating to the Louisiana matter] which I wish you to read, to possess yourself of completely, and then seal the letter." Jefferson relied upon Dupont to act as a friend of America at the court of France. To Dupont he says: "I wish you to be possessed of the subjects, because you may be able to impress on the government of France the inevitable consequence of their taking possession of Louisiana; and though, as I here mention [in the inclosed letter to Livingston], the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to us would be a palliation, yet I believe it would be no more. . . . In Europe nothing but Europe is seen, or supposed to have any right in the affairs of nations; but this little event, of France's possessing herself of Louisiana, which is thrown in as nothing, as a mere make-weight in the general settlement of accounts, this speck which now appears as an almost invisible point on the horizon, is the embryo of a tornado which will burst on the countries on

both sides of the Atlantic, and involve in its effects their highest destinies." This expresses Jefferson's settled view of the nature of the Louisiana crisis, for, more than a year and a half later, January 29, 1804, he wrote Doctor Priestly using almost that identical language,—“I very early saw that Louisiana was indeed a speck in our horizon which was to burst in a tornado; and the public are unapprised how near the catastrophe was. Nothing but a frank and friendly development of causes and effects on our part, and good sense in Bonaparte to see that the train was unavoidable and would change the face of the world, saved us from that storm.” A further passage in this letter to Doctor Priestly is interesting and pertinent as it gives Jefferson's view of the situation after the purchase of the whole of Louisiana was effected: “The *denouement* has been happy; and I confess I look to this duplication of area for the extending a government so free and economical as ours, as a great achievement to the mass of happiness which is to ensue. Whether we remain in one confederacy, or form into Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies, I believe not very important to the happiness of either part. Those of the western confederacy will be as much our children and descendants as those of the eastern, and I feel myself as much identified with that country, in future times, as with this; and did I foresee a separation at some future day, yet I should feel the duty and the desire to promote the western interests as zealously as the eastern, doing all the good for both portions of our future family which should fall within my power.”

But to turn back to the year 1802, when Jefferson was giving those burning instructions to Livingston and acquainting Monroe with the tactics to be used for all different forms in which the Louisiana question might present itself, before dispatching him to help at Paris.

All the representations Jefferson makes in the Louisiana case do not fully disclose his thought and purpose concerning the westward course of American institutions. In this same year, 1802, he submits to Gallatin a draft of what he proposes as his annual message. In this was included a recommendation of an expedition across the continent to the Pacific. Gallatin expresses himself as warmly interested in the plan, "but as it contemplates an expedition out of our own territory," he suggests that it would be a proper object for a confidential message.³

Jefferson followed Gallatin's advice, and some two months later, on January 18, 1803, sent the confidential message to Congress of which the outcome was the Lewis and Clark expedition. Jefferson, as well as the country at large, was exceedingly wrought up at this time about the possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, but not so much so but that he kept in mind his long cherished project of a transcontinental exploration. It no doubt occurred to him as opportune against France to "sneak in" this exploration before she could take possession of the country, and quite as timely, too, against England. For if we were to have her as our ally in the coming war and win the continent, priority in exploration would make a fine basis for claiming all in that latitude to the Pacific, when a division of the spoils of war should take place.

Whatever may have been the occasional relations between the Lewis and Clark expedition and the struggle for the Louisiana territory, the fact stands that Jefferson

³ Writings of Gallatin, edited by Henry Adams, Vol. I, p. 107. Gallatin's memorandum is: "8th Missouri seems, as it contemplates an expedition out of our own territory, to be a proper object for a confidential message. I feel interested in this plan, and will suggest the propriety that General Dearborn should write immediately to procure 'Vancouver's Survey,' one copy of which, the only one I believe in America, is advertised by F. Nichols, No. 70 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Price, with the charts, fifty-five dollars."

revived, and prepared for consummation, his long cherished idea when affairs pertaining to Louisiana were assuming their most serious aspects and just before their culmination. In the one matter there was consummate, practical statesmanship, in the other there may have been the conscious, clever move of an astute statesman; there surely was the motive and penetration of the seer and idealist. Before passing to the argument to substantiate this claim a word of comment is offered on the special character of the significance of a seer-fostered enterprise in history.

As the Project of a Seer and Idealist the Meaning of the Lewis and Clark Exploration Reaches Down the Ages.

As the project of a seer this event was out of the ordinary in history. Seers but rarely make history so directly and so exclusively. The typical event of history is the spontaneous outcome of contemporary conditions that are pressing to issue. There may or may not be present the shaping, or more or less controlling, influence of a master mind; and yet, essentially, the regular course of events is the outcome of an onward sweep of tendencies. Great events — those of deep and wide significance — are due, then, to a peculiar meeting, coalescence, and culmination of world or national tendencies; but the Lewis and Clark exploration was solely a projection from the brain of Thomas Jefferson. He furnished the suggestion and plans and did the promoting, organizing, and instructing. The Lewis and Clark exploration, then, issued from an ideal; whereas events, in general, are the outcome of conditions. To understand the inception of typical events we have to note the great forces active at the time converging upon them; but to comprehend the peculiar origin of the Lewis and Clark expedition we

have to repair to the thought, purposes, and ideals of Thomas Jefferson.

An event so peculiar in its origin and setting as was the Lewis and Clark exploration has character and influences of its own. Events of the ordinary run, like the Louisiana purchase, are mainly but precipitations from conditions and have their significance and influence in the change they make in conditions under which a people lives. An event, however, like the Lewis and Clark exploration, when appreciated in its essential character, has in it the enkindling thrill, the spur to resolute endeavor that wins a people to the mastery of its fate. The former affects the lifeless externals. This touches the living, inner purposes. That is bound to decrease. This will bear fruit increasingly as conditions ripen for the application of its spirit, its methods, and its purposes. Its intent will be realized, its motive have application as conditions are prepared for it. It needs but be comprehended to draw all unto it.

The great achievement of the intrepid explorers was but the first act of a world drama of Jefferson's planning, for which the continent was to be the stage. We find the sentiments and ideas for the acts that were to follow in order in the life-ideas of Jefferson. As was natural, Jefferson's thought ran far ahead of the slow procession of events. Before his mind's eye he passed in review the other four acts of this "Westward Course of Empire." Our attention as a people has been too long and too exclusively arrested on the dramatic opening. Our admiration has been chained to the exhibition of fortitude, valor, and endurance. It is time that we should turn to the more advanced, the more significant and far-reaching purposes cherished by its author. These, when fully comprehended, will be found to have largest and closest application to the prob-

lems and responsibilities of to-day. The eternal truth in the conception of Jefferson, the truth that the present-day and future conditions place in ever increasing vitality of relation to national welfare, is that of the dominion of mind in anticipating and disposing power over events and in directing the course of progress. In essaying this project of exploration Jefferson was not only promoting that which was in vital relation with his largest and most cherished life purposes, he was at the same time, in the large measure in which he had the prophet's vision true, marking out the central and enduring process of progress in civilization. It now rests with this generation to respond to the deeper designs of Jefferson bound up with his project of exploration. After a century of growth and achievement and moving westward we seem just ready to take note of the higher planes of community life and effort to which his prophet's call directs.

The Emphasis of a Centennial Celebration Most Fortunately Placed Upon the Lewis and Clark Exposition.

There is a special reason while dealing at this time with this event, in the centennial year of its culmination in a successful penetration of the continent, for a transition from cold history to panegyric; provided, always, the truth is fully adhered to. The mind of a people in reviewing its past, in conceiving of the process of its evolution, and in developing its traditions, poises itself upon epochal events as points of departure or relays for its ideas. From one of these resting places transition in thought is made to the next in order. The collective mind thus develops "perchings and flights," in its conceptions of its past, much as does the consciousness of the individual in cognizing the world about him or in organizing his thought material. Thus, in both the stream of history as conceived by a peo-

ple and in the course of an individual's thought there are resting places or substantive parts and places of flight or transitive parts. The Lewis and Clark exploration has been singled out by the people of Oregon from among the historic achievements of their past as that substantive part upon which their attention should rest and to which their thought should be made to recur unceasingly for a period of half a dozen years — for they made this particular event the historical basis for their first community effort in the form of a Centennial Exposition and "Western World's Fair."

Most fortunate is it if there is such higher significance in this event and in its setting that shall make this long focusing upon it in this impressionable mood of the popular mind not a cold blank stare, but a period of elation. Because of richness and warmth of suggestion of this event it shall enkindle and unify, raising the public to a higher order of life. That it has such epical character, and that it bears effluence and inspiration of biblical quality to the head and hearts of the people who with full understanding commemorate it, is the claim made for it.

This event easily bears the emphasis of a centennial celebration on its objective side because of its paramount influence in the train of events through which the Oregon Country was won for the American people. It has prominence, too, in that longer line of achievements through which the position of this nation was gained as "Arbiter of the New World." The Louisiana purchase probably holds over it as a larger step in effecting the rise of the United States to a world power. But to the importance that the Lewis and Clark exploration thus has, objectively considered, must be added that grand scheme of life purposes of Thomas Jefferson of which it was an integral part

and all of which it so well symbolizes. In the audacity of youth Jefferson proposed to reserve this continent as the home of the largest liberty, equality, and enlightenment. A transcontinental exploration was the first step thereto.

II.

Jefferson's Purpose With Transcontinental Exploration as Seen in the Official Medallion, in the Occasions Seized for Urging It, in Leaders Selected and Instructions Given.

In essaying to show that the Lewis and Clark explorations had in it and back of it ideas and purposes that fit it to become the watchword for the spirit and aims that



should be the passion of this community to-day it may be helpful to compare two tokens of that event. Take first the official emblem of the Centennial Exposition commemorating the achievement. For the design in it we have figures representing Lewis and Clark and the blithe and buxom Miss Columbia, taken off their feet, as it were, on "sighting the Pacific." This pic-

tures admirably the hallelujah of Captain Clark recorded in his journal in the words, "Ocean in view! O the joy!" It expresses as well, too, the hosanna of the people of the

Pacific Northwest in their Centennial celebration. But now turn to the design on the official medal of the expe-



dition, adopted as the design for the seal of the Oregon Historical Society. Its cordial handclasp, its legend "peace friendship," and the axe and pipe of peace, give a very and different idea of the import and spirit of the enterprise. There are no rifles, no powder flasks and long knives in evidence on this — none of the paraphernalia of war. Yet this official medallion was probably designed by Jefferson. At any rate it expresses faithfully and strongly his fixed policy in all his dealings with the Indians.

For further light on the purposes of Jefferson let us turn to the occasions he seized for urging a transcontinental exploration and the grounds he gave for undertaking it. In 1783 he proposes to George Rogers Clark that he head an expedition to explore "the country from the

Mississippi [*sic*] to California." He reports "a very large sum of money" subscribed for such an expedition to start from England. "They pretend," he says, "it is only to promote knoledge [*sic*]. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonizing into that quarter." This is our first record of his alert guardianship for the retention of this continent for American institutions. Two years later, while in Paris as Minister to France, he became aware of the equipment of the expedition of La Perouse for the exploration of the Pacific. He is again roused lest it be an attempt to colonize these western shores, this time by France. Jefferson was not partial with his suspicions of designs by the different European countries upon any part of the America he proposed to have kept intact for American principles of liberty, equality, and enlightenment. He had John Paul Jones look into the La Perouse matter for him.

A few months later Jefferson met the explorer John Ledyard who had, a few years before, been with Captain Cook on this coast, but who was now unhappy because he had no project of adventure on hand. Jefferson kindled in him the resolution to cross Europe and Siberia to the Pacific, to take a Russian vessel thence to this coast and penetrate the continent from west to east. Ledyard was balked in this venture, but Jefferson soon had him under pledge to start again to the Pacific, this time overland from Kentucky. The explorer, however, perished in an attempted African exploration which came first in turn.

Explorers coming under Jefferson's influence seemed never immune against the fever for a transcontinental trip to the Pacific. In 1793 he had Andre Michaux, a French botanist on his way to proceed up the Missouri to the Pacific. Michaux had been subsidized by a subscription, and was to make his venture under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.

He, however, became entangled in the Genet conspiracy to wrest Florida and Louisiana from Spain, and had to be recalled.

Next in order came the successful Lewis and Clark venture of 1803. This, too, as pointed out above, was undertaken at what seemed a very 'opportune time in view of what was impending. These several promptings to exploration from Jefferson prove that his interest in the Pacific side of America was at least a live and perennial yearning. An intimation of an expedition to this region from Europe roused him. He seemed especially stirred to action to forestall colonization or permanent occupation of it by any European power.

The line of leaders selected by Jefferson while making these successive efforts may also have significance. The man applied to on the first occasion was George Rogers Clark, of Kaskaskia and Vincennes fame—one with military prestige; then Ledyard, a typical explorer; next came Michaux, a scientist, to go under the auspices of a scientific society; and in 1803 a naturalist, other things equal, would again have been his first choice—if we are to believe what he wrote Doctor Barton on February 27, 1803. He says:

“You know we have been many years wishing to have the Missouri explored, and whatever river, heading with that, runs into the western ocean. Congress, in some secret proceedings, have yielded to a proposition I made them for permitting me to have it done. It is to be undertaken immediately with a party of about ten, and I have appointed Captain Lewis, my secretary, to conduct it. It was impossible to find a character who, to a complete science in Botany, Natural History, Mineralogy, and Astronomy, joined the firmness of constitution and character, prudence, habits adapted to the woods, and familiarity with the Indian manners and character, requisite for this undertaking. All the latter qualifications Captain Lewis has. Although no regular botanist, etc., he possesses a remarkable store of accurate observation on all the subjects of the three kingdoms, and will therefore readily single out whatever presents itself new to him in either; and he has qualified himself for taking the observations of longitude

and latitude necessary to fix the geography of the line he passes through. In order to draw his attention at once to the subjects most desirable, I must ask the favor of you to prepare for him a note of those in the lines of botany, zoology, or of Indian history, which you think most worthy of inquiry and observation. He will be with you in Philadelphia in two or three weeks, and will wait on you, and will receive thankfully on paper and any verbal communications which you may be so good as to make to him. I make no apology for this trouble, because I know that the same wish to promote science which has induced me to bring forward this proposition will induce you to aid in promoting it."

These selections for leadership show that Jefferson's interest in securing geographical and other scientific data was a growing one. At the same time there is greater appreciation on his part of the demands made by such an undertaking for practical conditions of success. His is no longer a suggestion to a single lone explorer as with Ledyard and Michaux, but for a company large enough to ensure success if prudence is exercised.

The instructions to Michaux, written by Jefferson in 1793, state that the "chief objects are to find the shortest and most convenient route of communication between the United States and the Pacific Ocean within the temperate latitudes, and to learn such particulars as can be obtained of the country through which it passes, its productions, inhabitants, and other interesting circumstances." Again, in admonishing him to have concern for his personal health and safety, Jefferson urges that this is not merely Michaux's personal interest but "the injunction of science in general which expects an enlargement from your inquiries, and of the inhabitants of the United States in particular, to whom your report will open new fields and subjects of commerce, intercourse, and observation."

The official instructions conveyed to Lewis and the several communications sent him by Jefferson, during the months intervening between his departure from Washington and his passing beyond the frontier, agree in making

the object of this finally successful effort the opening of "direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri, and perhaps the Oregon." Jefferson's deep interest in the records of the explorations effected by Lewis and Clark, which the paper following this so strongly exhibits, relates, however, more to their value to science than to commerce. In his letters to his correspondents among the men of science of his day the references to the journals of Lewis and Clark are frequent, generally it is to express his regrets over the delay in the publication of them. In the purposes of Jefferson, therefore, science and commerce appear to divide the honors about equally as direct beneficiaries from this venture.

Commercial relations were to be developed with all the aboriginal inhabitants along this water way even to the shores of the Pacific. These natives were to be bound to us by "assiduously cultivating their interests and their affections." Through the medium of the unity thus developed America was to have a "hemisphere to itself." With his humanitarian policy in commerce he would win the native tribes to agriculture and to friendship. He hailed the Astor enterprise as the natural sequel to the Lewis and Clark exploration. In 1813 he writes Astor: "I view it [the Astor establishment on the Columbia, 1811-1813] as the germ of a great, free, and independent empire on that side of our continent, and that liberty and self-government spreading from that as well as this side, will ensure their complete establishment over the whole." And Jefferson's devout wish was father of the next compliment to Astor: "It must be still more gratifying to yourself to foresee that your name will be handed down with that of Columbus and Raleigh, as father of the establishment and founder of such an empire." (This coming from the author of the Lewis and Clark exploration which opened this region to Astor is modesty and magnanimity

itself.) His repeated counsel to Astor was that he cherish the affections of the natives, and make it their interest to uphold his establishment.

The Lewis and Clark Exploration, the Exponent of Jefferson's Life Mission, and the Watchword of Progress in the Pacific Northwest.

Jefferson was thus the first great American expansionist. But he was not of the type of Alexander the Great. His trinity of the three greatest men the world had ever produced were "Bacon, Newton, and Locke." His supreme passion was for the dispelling of ignorance and the promotion of the useful sciences, because it was his faith that liberty and progress were wholly dependent upon the universal education of the masses and the highest education of the most competent. He states his point of view writing from Europe during the dark days of the Confederation, following Shay's Rebellion and while the adoption of the constitution was pending. In commenting on the question whether peace is best preserved by giving energy to the government or information to the people he says: "And say, finally, whether peace is best preserved by giving energy to the government, or information to the people. This last is the most certain, and the most legitimate engine of government. Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them. And it requires no very high degree of education to convince them of this. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty. After all, it is my principle that the will of the majority should prevail. If they approve the proposed constitution in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes they will amend it, whenever they find it works wrong. This reliance can not deceive us, as long as we remain virtuous; and I think we

shall be so, as agriculture is our principal object, which will be the case, while there remains vacant lands in any part of America. When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there."

We see here why he was an expansionist and what was the relation of his long cherished project of transcontinental exploration to the cardinal aims of his life, making with them an organic whole. He wished a continent reserved for an American civilization. He wanted room for normal conditions of life, and the separation that would insure against embroilment in the chronic strife and wars of Europe. He devoted his life to the securing of an unhampered development of a people under conditions of liberty and through means of a system of education including all the state-supported agencies from the primary schools to the most highly equipped state university. He encountered the turmoil of politics not from choice, and had a patriot's part in the securing of liberty and independence not as ends, but as conditions under which in fortunate America men might live the life of reason and of virtue.

He proposed that America should not repeat the sad experience of Europe. The burden of his advice, written at this time from Europe, was: "Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose, is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles, who will rise among us if we leave the people in ignorance. In Europe, under the pretense of governing, they [their governing classes] have divided [the people of] their nations into two classes, wolves and sheep. I do not exaggerate.

This is the true picture of Europe. Cherish, therefore, the spirit of our people and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, Congress and Assemblies, Judges and Governors, shall all become wolves." Probably the very next document he produced after drawing up the Declaration of Independence was the Virginian code "for the diffusion of knowledge among the people." In later years, when the whole state code was being revised, he spoke of the part providing for schools as the most important, for "no other foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness." He never departed from the idea that "true knowledge and freedom are indissolubly linked together."

In 1810, after having retired from the presidency, he was urged to take a seat in the legislature. He declined, not because his life was no longer devoted to the public good, but he could accomplish more with his peculiar talents from this time on as a private citizen. "I have, indeed," he says, "two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength: (1) That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom. (2) To divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it." These school districts or "hundreds" were to be the centers for all local government and social activity. All that the free library, the good roads, and the grange movements of to-day contemplate were to be organized in them. "These little republics would be the main strength of the great one." Years afterward he still wrote: "There are two subjects, indeed, which I shall claim a right to further as long as I breathe: the public education, and the subdivision of counties into

wards. I consider the continuance of republican government as absolutely hanging on these two hooks."

His darling project, however, after being relieved of official cares, was the building up of a "real state university." "For at least fifty years," says Thomas Nelson Page, "Jefferson had the [university] project in his brain; . . . for at least twenty years he gave to its fulfillment every energy which he possessed. Every resource he could summon was called forth." While he had not attained his ideal in the matter of elementary education and primary political divisions, he felt that the people were devoted to their institutions and their liberties were for the time safe; he proposed, therefore, to promote the establishment of "an institution in which all the useful sciences could be cultivated in the highest degree." The nation's grandest resource was in the genius of its youth, and he would foster that; and we must not get the idea that outside of politics Jefferson was a narrow, impractical, scholastic visionary. He invented the first scientific plow, imported the first threshing machine into Virginia, was ever in the lead in introducing improved varieties of economic plants and more highly bred sheep and cattle.

He knew that "science is more important in a republican than in any other government." He was content with nothing less than preëminence for his country and believed, as his life devotion proves, that the agency of a real university, with the best men the world afforded in it, was an indispensable prerequisite for this preëminence. "Fame, fortune, and prosperity" it would insure the country, and Virginia, using its graduates of superior qualifications, would be raised "from its humble state to an eminence among its associates which it has never known; no, not in its brightest days." Virginia has just this last year been fully awakened to the absolute truth of Jefferson's teachings. Educational agencies of local communi-

ties and the state university receive thought and support many times above what they ever did before.

This was Jefferson and this was his spirit and aims in the Lewis and Clark exploration. It was undertaken for an outward and upward march for the American people. Oregon has caught some of this spirit in her commemoration of the centenary of that event. But this Oregon spirit is not a tithe of what it will be when the emphasis is upon the minds and hearts of her people rather than upon her fields, her forests, and her mines. And is it not time to shift our aims and methods from those of advertising and exploitation to those of constructive and creative organization and development? Preëminent "fame, fortune, and prosperity" will be hers among her associates when she cherishes above all else the genius and character of her youth. Why not, with the Lewis and Clark exploration as a fit symbol and watchword, emulate in our day and generation the same outward and upward stride that Jefferson purposed in his?

F. G. YOUNG.

THE STORY OF LEWIS AND CLARK'S JOURNALS.*

By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.

The story of the records of the transcontinental exploration of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (1803–1806) is almost as romantic as that of the great discovery itself.

In his detailed instructions to Lewis, dated June 20, 1803⁴, President Jefferson displayed particular concern for the journals of the proposed expedition to the Pacific, which, with all possible scientific data, were to be prepared “with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly & intelligibly for others as well as yourself.” The notes of the two captains were to be guarded against loss by making copies of them—“one of these copies [to] be written on the paper of the birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper.”⁵ Not only were Lewis and Clark to keep such journals, but their men were encouraged to do likewise.

The two leaders faithfully performed their duty in this regard, and the four sergeants—Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor—also wrote journals. Tradition has it that at least three of the twenty-three privates were, as well, diarists upon the expedition, but the only private's notebook now known to us is that of Joseph Whitehouse.⁶

* Reprinted from “Introduction to THE ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION,” published by Dodd, Mead & Company.

⁴State Department (Washington, D. C.), Bureau of Rolls, Jefferson Papers, series 1, vol. 9, doc. 269.

⁵This suggestion was not adopted in practice.

⁶In the camp orders issued by Lewis and Clark, May 26, 1804, occurs this sentence: “The sergts. in addition to those [other] duties are directed to keep a separate journal from day to day of all passing occurrences, and such other observations on the country &c., as shall appear to them worthy of notice.”

It was the daily custom of the captains to make rough notes, with rude outline maps, plans, and miscellaneous sketches, in field books which they doubtless carried in their pockets. When encamped for a protracted period, these were developed into more formal records. In this development each often borrowed freely from the other's notes—Lewis, the better scholar of the two, generally re-writing in his own manner the material obtained from Clark; but the latter not infrequently copied Lewis practically verbatim, but with his own phonetic spelling.

Upon reaching St. Louis, on the return (September 23, 1806), these individual journals were for the most part transcribed by their authors into neat blank books—bound in red morocco, and gilt-edged—with the thought of preparing them for early publication. After this process, the original field books must have been cast aside and in large measure destroyed; for but one of these⁷ is now known to exist—a bulky duodecimo, containing about 20,000 words, wrapped in an irregular piece of soft elkskin, rudely stitched to the back. There have come down to us, however, several notebooks which apparently were written up in the camps.

Altogether, these journals of the captains cover each and every day the expedition was out; largely a double record, although occasionally there are periods when we have the journal of but one of them.⁸ The manuscripts well exemplify the habits and characteristics of the two men—Clark, the more experienced frontiersman of the

⁷ By Clark, dated September 13–December 31, 1805, and described *post*.

⁸ We have much more of Clark in these journals, than of Lewis. The lacunæ in the Lewis manuscripts, as compared with the dates covered by Clark, are as follows:

1804—May 14, 16–19, 21–September 15; September 18–December 31 = 228 days.

1805—January 1–February 2; February 14–April 6; August 27–September 8; September 11–17, 23–November 28; December 1–31 = 168 days.

1806—August 13–September 26 = 45 days. But during much of this period Lewis was disabled from a wound, and therefore unable to write.

two, expressing himself sententiously with Doric simplicity and vigor of phrase, and often amusingly eccentric orthography; Lewis, in more correct diction, inclined to expatiate on details, especially with regard to Indians and natural history, and frequently revealing a poetic temperament and a considerable fund of humor.

In February, 1806, when the expedition was upon the Pacific Coast, President Jefferson sent to Congress a message inclosing, among other matters, a letter from Lewis dated at Fort Mandan (near the present Bismarck, N. Dak.) in the previous April, just as the explorers were leaving for the upper country. At that point the party had passed their first winter. The communication, describing the experiences of the expedition as far as Fort Mandan, was accompanied by brief reports of explorations on the Red and Washita rivers by Doctor Sibley, Doctor Hunter, and William C. Dunbar, together with statistics of the Western tribes and other data of the kind; the ill-assorted whole being promptly published as a public document.⁹ Based upon this fragmentary publication, there soon sprung up, both in England and America, a long list of popular compilations, telling the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition during its first year, expanded with miscellaneous information about the Western Indians, picked up here and there—some of it singularly inaccurate.

A year later (early in 1807), only a few months after

The only gap in the Clark journals is the brief period from February 3 to 12 (inclusive), 1805 = 10 days.

Whether the missing Lewis entries (41 days, as compared with Clark; but we may eliminate 41 for the period when he was disabled, thus leaving 400) are still in existence or not, is unknown to the present writer. There appears to be no doubt that he regularly kept his diary. It is possible that the missing notes, in whole or in part, were with him when he met his death in Tennessee, and were either accidentally or purposely destroyed by others.

⁹ Message from the President of the United States, communicating discoveries made in exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar; with a statistical account of the countries adjacent (Washington, 1806).

the return of the party, there was published at Philadelphia the first detailed report of the entire tour — being the journal of Sergt. Patrick Gass, an observant man, whose rough but generally accurate notes had been carefully written up by an Irish schoolmaster, named David McKeehan, of Wellsburg, W. Va. This little volume of about 83,000 words,¹⁰ with its curiously crude illustrations, was reprinted in London in 1808, while new American editions appeared at Philadelphia in 1810, 1811, and 1812, and a French translation at Paris in 1810. It is now, in any form, a rare book.

It had been the intention of Lewis and Clark to publish their own journals; they had presented no official detailed report to the Government, it being left with them by Jefferson, as we shall see, to make such literary use of their material as they saw fit. Unfortunately for this purpose, both men had soon after their return received, together with commissions as generals, important government appointments: Lewis being made governor of Louisiana Territory, and Clark its Indian agent and brigadier-general of militia.¹¹ The onerous duties appertaining to these offices, in the new and vast territory through which they had explored, were necessarily absorbing; and neither being a literary man, the task of publication was under such circumstances easily deferred.

¹⁰ *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke, of the Army of the United States; from the Mouth of the River Missouri, through the Interior Parts of North America, to the Pacific Ocean; during the Years 1804, 1805, & 1806. Containing An Authentic Relation of the most interesting Transactions during the Expedition: A Description of the Country: And an Account of its Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, Curiosities, and Vegetable and Animal Productions. By Patrick Gass. One of the Persons employed in the Expedition. With Geographical and Explanatory Notes by the Publisher. Pittsburgh: David M'Keehan. 1807.*

¹¹ Upon the expedition, Lewis held a captaincy in the First regiment of infantry; Clark had been commissioned as second lieutenant of artillery. On their return they both resigned from the army — Clark on February 27, 1807, and Lewis on March 2 following. March 3, Jefferson signed Lewis's commission as governor of Louisiana Territory; nine days later he signed Clark's commission as brigadier-general of its militia, an office combined with that of Indian agent.

Urged by Jefferson, however,—who had from the first been keenly desirous to have the records of the exploration made, as soon as possible, the common property of the world—it was in 1809 agreed that General Lewis should at once undertake the editorship of the journals. Arrangements were made with C. & A. Conrad & Co., of Philadelphia, for the publication of the work, and a prospectus was circulated with a view of obtaining advance subscriptions. Lewis was traveling on horseback through Tennessee, on his way to Washington, intending thereafter to go to Philadelphia to enter upon this editorial task, when he lost his life during the night of October 11. A guest, at the time, of a wayside settler some sixty miles southwest of Nashville, it was reported that he had committed suicide, a theory which Jefferson, probably his closest friend, accepted without question; but it was, and still is, believed by many that he was murdered for the small sum of money upon his person at the time.

Clark, now the sole surviving head of the expedition, promptly sought the assistance of an editor in bringing out the proposed publication. It appears that, probably early in 1810, overtures were made to him from some literary person in Richmond, Va.;¹² but these he rejected, and earnestly solicited the aid of Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia. Biddle, who had descended from one of the oldest Philadelphia families, had graduated from Princeton in his sixteenth year (1801). He had been secretary to John Armstrong, our minister to France (1804), and while in Paris had superintended the payment of American claims growing out of the Louisiana purchase, in this capacity greatly surprising the French officials both by his brilliancy and his youth. After traveling extensively in Europe, he became secretary to Mr. Monroe while the

¹² See Biddle-Clark correspondence in Coues, Lewis and Clark, I, pp. lxxxii *et seq.*

latter was minister to Great Britain, but in 1807 returned to practice law in Philadelphia. At the time of Clark's invitation Biddle was only twenty-four years of age. He had, nevertheless, already attained considerable reputation as a financier, lawyer, and man of letters—in the last-named field, being editor of the *Port-folio*—and socially was considered by many both the handsomest and the most charming man in Philadelphia, as he certainly was one of the most cultivated. It is small wonder that Clark chose him as the writer of the narrative.

In his second letter to Biddle, dated February 20, 1810, from the home of his father-in-law, Col. George Hancock, near Fincastle, Va., then being visited by the General, he invites his young friend to come to him at that place, "where I have my books and memorandums and stay with me a week or two; read over & make yourself thereby acquainted with everything which may not be explained in the Journals. * * * Such parts as may not be full, I can explain, and add such additional matter as I may recollect. I brought the books with me to Copy such parts as are intended for the Botanical work which I shall send to Doct^r. Barton, and will deliver the Books to you if you will engage to write the narrative &c."

On March 3 Biddle replied to Clark, regretting "that it will be out of my power to undertake what you had the politeness to offer," explaining that "My occupations necessarily confine me to Phil^a. and I have neither health nor leisure to do sufficient justice to the fruits of your enterprise and ingenuity. You cannot be long however without making a more fortunate selection."

Two weeks later, however (March 17), he again addressed Clark—who was still at Fincastle—and reports having seen some of the latter's friends in Philadelphia, the result of the conference being that he "will therefore very readily agree to do all that is in my power for the

advancement of the work; and I think I can promise with some confidence that it shall be ready as soon as the publisher is prepared to print it. Having made up my mind to-day, I am desirous that no delay shall occur on my part." He therefore will soon visit the General at Fincastle. The latter replied (March 25) with "most sincere acknowledgments for the friendly sentiments," and urged an immediate visit, "as my business calls me to Louisiana; and nothing detains me but the business I wish with you."

Biddle made the trip to Fincastle, noted Clark's oral statements, and carried back with him to Philadelphia the journals and maps of the expedition, from which he at once began to write his narrative. In May Clark sent to the editor a young man named George Shannon,¹³ who as a mere boy of sixteen years, had creditably served as one of the privates in the expedition. Then twenty-three years old, and studying for the law, Shannon appears to have remained in Philadelphia throughout most of the time spent in drafting the narrative, and materially assisted Biddle, both in interpreting the notebooks and giving personal recollections of the tour. Not only did Clark tender the services of Shannon, but he himself was in frequent correspondence with the editor, and purchased and forwarded to him the journal of Sergeant Ordway.¹⁴ We have seen that the journal of Sergeant Gass had already been published in 1807.

The talented young editor at once surrendered himself almost completely to the difficult task before him. He had promised Clark that the narrative should be ready

¹³Shannon was born in Pennsylvania, of a good family, in 1787. After the return of the expedition he lost a leg as a result of a wound at the hands of Indians, the amputation having taken place at St. Charles, Mo. Soon after serving Biddle, he was admitted to the bar at Louisville, Ky.; becoming a circuit judge in Kentucky, a State senator in Missouri, and United States district attorney for Missouri. He died suddenly in court in 1836, aged 49 years.

¹⁴Coues assumes, in his *Lewis and Clark*, that Biddle had also the use of the journal of Sergeant Pryor, but I can find no evidence to this effect.

for the press within twelve months. By the 7th of July he appears to have finished the story of the exploration up to July 7, 1805, above the Falls of the Missouri; for in a note to his distinguished correspondent, chiefly concerning the maps for the publication,¹⁵ he playfully says: "To-day I have sent you and ten men up into a bottom to look for wood to make canoes after the unhappy failure of your iron boat." A year later (July 8, 1811) he wrote to Clark, informing him that he had "completed the work, agreeable to our engagement," and was "ready to put it to the press whenever Mr. Conrad chose."

In our day a work of this character would eagerly be sought by publishers. Stanley, Nordenskjöld, Nansen, and Hedin have had but to choose among applicants from the book trade. Ninety years ago the situation was far different. John Conrad, a prominent publisher of his day, was finally prevailed upon to undertake the work, the financial outcome of which seemed to some others doubtful. He appears to have entered into the project with much interest; but by the time Biddle was ready he had fallen into financial straits and in due course was plunged into bankruptcy, for this was the period of the second war with England and business was unsettled. Biddle accordingly writes to Clark July 4, 1811, stating the facts in the case and incidentally mentioning that "last winter I was prevented from going to the legislature chiefly by a desire to stay & superintend the printing." He has, however, made an arrangement with Thomas Bradford, "one of the best booksellers here," and hopes that "we can proceed vigorously & soon get the volumes out."

Despite Biddle's optimism affairs dragged slowly, for Bradford's terms were unacceptable. Over a year later (September 5, 1812), we find Clark offering Biddle "the

¹⁵ Which were being prepared by F. R. Hassler, Schenectady, N. Y.

half of every profit arising from it, if you will attend to it, have it Completed as far as it is possible and necessary, printed published &c. including the advances which have and may be necessary &c." Biddle does not appear to have accepted this financial proposition. More familiar with the book market, he probably anticipated the failure of the project.

Throughout the entire course of the work Conrad continued his friendly concern, and assisted Biddle in his strenuous search for a publisher. November 12 he tells Biddle by letter that he has tried Johnson & Warner without success, that firm "seem to have so incorrect an idea of the value of the work and probable profits arising from the publication of it." He advises Biddle to "agree to Mr. Bradford's offer. It is I am confident the best bargain you can make for Genl. Clarke. The copyright I presume will be in him (Genl. C.) & I suppose he will derive the entire benefit of the sale of the M. S. in England."

This advice Biddle in due time felt impelled to accept, and February 23, 1813, tells Clark that having found Bradford's terms "not such as I thought advantageous I made proposals to all the booksellers in town. The stagnation in that branch of business was so great that no one was willing to embark in it, and after a great deal of fruitless negotiation I was obliged to return and on the advice of Mr. Conrad accept Mr. Bradford's proposals * * * I now wait only for the engravers who will soon I hope finish their work and then we can strike off the printing immediately & in a little time the work will be published." A year was, however, exhausted in the mechanical execution of the two small volumes. During this time the publishing firm of Bradford & Inskeep, which undertook the work, in their turn became insolvent, and at the actual

time of publication (February 20, 1814)¹⁶ were in the bankrupt court.

Just before going to press Biddle was elected to the legislature, in which he soon won an enviable reputation for statesmanlike qualities. Being thus prevented from paying that attention to the book which he thought it deserved, he engaged Paul Allen, a Philadelphia newspaper writer, to supervise the issue. In a letter to Clark (March 23), reviewing some of the circumstances of the publication, Biddle says: "The gentleman who received and prepared it for the press, Mr. Allen, is a very capable person, and as I did not put the finishing hand to the volumes I did not think it right to take from him the credit of his own exertion and care by announcing personally the part which I had in the compilation. I am content that my trouble in the business should be recognized only by the pleasure which attended it and also by the satisfaction of making your acquaintance, which I shall always value. I could have wished that your time had permitted you to revise the whole of the work, as no doubt some errors and inadvertences have from the nature of the volumes and the circumstances attending the publication crept into them. I hope however, that you will not find them very numerous or important. * * * Henceforth you may sleep upon your fame, which must last as long as books can endure. Mr. Bradford has, I presume, sent you a copy of the work." Not long after this (July 1, 1813), General Clark, who since the expedition had been a resident of

¹⁶The date of the first sale of volumes. See Coues's *Lewis and Clark*, I, pp. xci, xcii, for detailed statement of the financial outcome of the enterprise.

The full title of the work was: *History of the exploration under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed during the years 1804-5-6. By order of the Government of the United States. Prepared for the Press by Paul Allen, Esquire. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814. 2 vols.*

St. Louis, had been appointed governor of Missouri Territory.

Despite Biddle's determination to claim no credit for the great narrative which has long been regarded a classic in American history, it is quite apparent that Allen's connection with the enterprise was but that of a reviser for the press. He himself modestly states in the preface that he does not wish "to arrogate anything from the exertions of others"; that "he found but little to change, and that his labor has been principally confined to revising the manuscript, comparing it with the original papers, and inserting such additional matter as appears to have been intentionally deferred by the writer [Mr. Biddle] till the period of a more mature revisal." Allen secured from President Jefferson an admirable memoir of Lewis; possibly he also blocked out the chapters; and the mechanical form may in a measure be due to him. His labors were doubtless important from the typographical and clerical side; but of course the credit for the enterprise should chiefly rest with Biddle. That the latter had finished the work, ready for the final touches of a practical reviser for the press, is evident from his own letters to Clark, as well as the confirmatory statement which has come down to us from Conrad.

In his admirable edition of the *Travels* (New York, 1893, 4 vols.) Dr. Elliott Coues spends much space and energy in persistently heaping vituperation on Allen for fathering a work mainly performed by another. Biddle had the undoubted right to withdraw his name from public connection with the narrative. We may consider his reasons Quixotic, but he was entitled to be guided by them, and they certainly bespeak a nature more generous than we are accustomed to meet. As for Allen, it is quite evident that he did his part with becoming modesty; and

no doubt he well earned the fee of \$500—partly taken out in trade—with which he was rewarded by the publishers. Press revision and proof reading are no light tasks; although we might wish that, while he was at it, he had also given us an index.

The size of the edition was apparently 2,000 copies.¹⁷ Of these it would seem that 583 were either lost in some manner—“supposed to be destroyed in binder’s or printer’s hands”—or were defective from lacking plates. This would leave for sale only 1,417 perfect copies, which explains why the book is now rare. The net profits on the enterprise were computed at \$154.10, of which neither Clark nor Biddle appears to have received a penny. The copper plates of the engraved maps became the property of the latter, and are now owned by his son, Hon. Craig Biddle, of Philadelphia. To Clark was left the copyright. As for the heirs of Lewis, we find them¹⁸ as late as 1816–17 making application to Clark for their share of the earnings, “persuaded that profit arising from that work has been received,” and being informed by the kind-hearted governor of the dismal result of the enterprise.

Over two and a half years after the publication a letter from Clark to Jefferson (October 10, 1816,)¹⁹ reveals the fact that the explorer had himself “not been so fortunate as to procure a single volume as yet”—thus showing that Bradford, in the midst of his financial troubles, had not carried out his agreement with Biddle, mentioned above, to transmit a copy of the work to the man chiefly concerned in its appearance.

The service of Biddle in editing the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition was a far more difficult literary undertaking than is commonly supposed. The entire

¹⁷ In this I follow Coues.

¹⁸ Coues, I, pp. xciii, xciv.

¹⁹ Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society.

mass of notes which he had before him may be thus roughly computed :

	Words.
Lewis and Clark journals (Amer. Philosophical Society codices)-----	900,000
Gass journal (as printed)-----	83,000
Ordway journal — unknown, but possibly-----	100,000
	<hr/> 1,083,000

To this we should add about 150,000 words in the Clark-Voorhis collection, later to be described, and undoubtedly at one time in Biddle's hands, and whatever additional notes he may have made during conversations with Clark and Shannon, or as the result of correspondence with the former — and they must have been copious. A large proportion of the scientific matter of the Lewis and Clark notebooks, however — which may have aggregated possibly a fourth of the journals as a whole — had been eliminated by Clark and Biddle. This material, carefully copied out, was sent to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, an eminent naturalist in Philadelphia.²⁰ Doctor Barton agreed to prepare a special volume, "which was to have been (by contract) prepared in six months from the time" of the appearance of the narrative of the journey. Owing to Barton's illness and consequent death this "scientific part"²¹ was not written. Thus, while the Biddle narrative gives a popular account of some of the principal discoveries, the scientific data so laborously kept by Lewis and Clark — chiefly the former — has thus far not been given to the world.

It was Biddle's task to weave this great mass of heterogeneous data into a readable narrative which should have unity and a simple and forceful literary style. Adopting so far as possible the language of the original journals,

²⁰ A professor of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania and a vice-president of the American Philosophical Society.

²¹ Clark's letter to Jefferson, dated St. Louis, October 10, 1816, in archives of American Philosophical Society.

where essential he amplifies and explains them from his additional data, it being plain to see, on comparison with the originals, wherein Clark and Shannon and the Ordway and Gass journals had assisted him to a more complete understanding. The nearly 1,200,000 words of the originals he condensed into 370,000 words. The first person plural is used, save where the captains are individually mentioned, and then we have the third person singular. So skillfully is the work done that probably few readers have realized that they had not before them the veritable journals of the explorers themselves, written upon the spot. The result will always remain one of the best digested and most interesting books of American travel, comparable in many respects with *Astoria* and *Bonneville's Adventures*—of course lacking Irving's charm of style, but possessing what Irving's two Western classics do not, the ring of truth, which never fails to appeal to those who love a tale of noble adventure in the cause of civilization.

We have seen that Jefferson, who set on foot the expedition,²² had from the first expressed much concern in its records, both in the making and the publication. He had urged their early printing, and on Lewis's death spurred Clark to action, with what result has been related. The dilatoriness of that performance—for which Clark, how-

²²In 1783 he suggested to Gen. George Rogers Clark, oldest brother of William, an expedition "for exploring the country from the Missisipi to California," but nothing came of it. The original MS. of this letter is in the Draper MSS., Wisconsin Historical Society, press mark 52 J 93. In 1786, while American minister at Paris, he proposed to John Ledyard, of Connecticut, a plan for penetrating through Russia and Siberia to Kamechatka, "and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to America [the United States]." But Ledyard was turned back by order of Empress Catherine II., when within a few days of Kamechatka and this project failed. (See Jefferson's "Autobiography" in Ford's edition of his writings, I, pp. 94-96.) In 1793 he arranged with the French botanist André Michaux to make a transcontinental tour up the Missouri and down the Columbia; but Michaux became involved in the Genet intrigue and got no farther west than Kentucky. Ten years later his fourth attempt succeeded under the direction of Lewis and Clark.

ever, was only partly responsible—fretted the great man. December 6, 1813, he wrote to Baron von Humboldt, "You will find it inconceivable that Lewis's journey to the Pacific should not yet have appeared; nor is it in my power to tell you the reason. The measures taken by his surviving companion, Clark, for the publication, have not answered our wishes in point of dispatch. I think, however, from what I have heard, that the mere journal will be out within a few weeks in two volumes, 8vo. These I will take care to send you with the tobacco seed you desired, if it be possible for them to escape the thousand ships of our enemies spread over the ocean. The botanical and zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and become known to the world through other channels before that volume will be ready. The Atlas, I believe, waits on the leisure of the engraver."²³ Nearly a hundred years have elapsed, and we still await its publication.

Three years later (1816) we find Jefferson instituting a search for the manuscript journals of the explorers, with a view of placing them in the archives of the American Philosophical Society. He writes (April 26)²⁴ to Prof. Joseph F. Correa da Serra, botanist, then holding membership in the society, asking him, in the cause of science, to interest himself in the matter, and describing in some detail the character of the documents—with which he was himself familiar, for he had handled them at Monticello. These papers, he informs Da Serra, "are the property of the government, the fruits of the expedition undertaken at such expence of money and risk of valuable lives. They contain exactly the whole of the information which it was our object to obtain for the benefit of our own country and of the world, but we were willing to give to Lewis

²³ Ford, IX, p. 433.

²⁴ The original MS. of this letter is in the possession of the society.

and Clarke whatever pecuniary benefits might be derived from the publication, and therefore left the papers in their hands, taking for granted that their interests would produce a speedy publication, which would be better if done under their direction. but the death of Cap^t. Lewis, the distance and occupations of General Clarke, and the bankruptcy of their bookseller, have retarded the publication, and rendered necessary that the government should attend to the reclamation & security of the papers. their recovery is now become an imperious duty. their safest deposit as fast as they can be collected, will be the Philosophical society, who no doubt will be so kind as to receive and preserve them, subject to the order of government. * * *

As to any claims of individuals to these papers, it is to be observed that, as being the property of the public, we are certain neither Lewis nor Clarke would undertake to convey away the right to them, and that they could not convey them, had they been capable of intending it. * * * my interference will, I trust, be excused, not only from the portion which every citizen has in whatever is public, but from the peculiar part I have had in the design and execution of this expedition."

It appears that Biddle, who still held the majority of the notebooks, was disinclined to surrender them to Jefferson save on order of Clark. September 8 Jefferson wrote to the General soliciting such an order, to "be given in favor either of the War office or myself. * * * I should receive them only in trust for the War office, to which they belong, and take their orders relating to them." He wishes to deposit with the Philosophical Society "for safe-keeping the traveling pocket journals as originals to be resorted to on all interesting questions arising out of the published journal," his desire being to secure "to the world all the beneficial results we were entitled to expect from it [the expedition] and which would so fully justify

the expences of the expedition incurred by the United States in that expectation."

October 10, Clark responds to Jefferson²⁵ by inclosing "an Order on my friend Mr. Biddle for the papers in his possession"; Biddle being at the same time instructed as his agent, "to collect all the Books, papers, specimens, &c.," in the hands of Doctor Barton's heirs or others. Clark expresses interest in Jefferson's desire to collect the papers, and adds: "From the mortification of not having succeeded in giving to the world all the results of that expedition, I feel Relief & greatitude for the interest which you are willing to take, in effecting what has not been in my power to accomplish." Curiously enough, as we shall soon see, Clark appears to have had at the time in his possession at St. Louis five of his own original journals, nearly all the maps of the expedition, and many miscellaneous documents concerning it; these he did not surrender.

June 28, 1817. Jefferson writes to Dr. John Vaughan, of the society, saying that although Mr. Da Serra had obtained several notebooks from Mr. Biddle and Mrs. Barton, there was still experienced considerable difficulty in collecting all of the documents. Evidently much annoyed, he proposes to bring pressure to bear through the Secretary of War, "that office having some rights to these papers." The further suggestion is made that the society publish "in their Transactions or otherwise," a digest of the "zoological, vegetable & mineralogical papers & subjects."

On the 8th of April, 1818, we learn from the manuscript minutes of the society that "Mr. Nicholas Biddle deposited the original journals of Lewis and Clark, with an account of them and of those journals and documents which he

²⁵ Original MS. in possession of American Philosophical Society.

was not possessed of." The following receipt therefor was ordered to be given by the secretary :

Rec^d. April 8. 1818 of Nicholas Biddle 14 Volumes of the Pocket Journal of M^{rs} Lewis & Clark: a Volume of astronomical observations & other Matter by Capt Lewis: a small Copy Book containing some Notes by Capt. Lewis— A Rough draft of his letter to the President from St. Louis announcing his return—Two Statistical Tables of the Indian Tribes West of the Mississippi river made by Governor Clark: all which are deposited with the Hist. Com^{tee} in compliance with the request of Gov^r Clark in his Letter to Nicholas Biddle dated 10 Oct 1816 & forwarded to the Hist. Com^{tee} by Mr. Jefferson.

It is understood & agreed on the part of the Histo. Com^{tee} in receiving these books & papers, that Gov. W^m Clark his heirs or assigns shall at all times have the full use of them for any future edition of his Travels. By order of the Hist. Com^{tee}. Jn Vaughan recording Sec. of the Hist. & Lit Class of the Am. Ph. Soc.

The deposit was accompanied by this letter from Mr. Biddle, giving interesting particulars, which in the present connection are worthy of preservation.²⁶

PHILADA. April 6, 1818

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure of depositing with the Historical Committee the papers & books which accompany this letter, in compliance with the request of Governor Clark in his letter to me of the 10th of October 1816 transmitted by Mr. Jefferson.

It may perhaps be useful to add such notices of other objects connected with them, as may enable the Committee to extend its researches.

It was in the Spring of 1810 that I received from Governor Clark in Virginia, & brought to Philadelphia the papers & documents deemed necessary for the publication of the Travels. They consisted of,

1. A large map of the country between the Mississippi & the Pacific illustrating the course of the journey.

2. A map for Mr Hafsler who was in the state of New York and engaged in some astronomical calculations for the work.

3. Some documents for Dr Barton.

4. The manuscript journal of Serjeant Ordway, one of the party.

5. The pocket-Journals of the expedition, of these

(1) The map after the draft was made from it for the engraver was delivered by the draftsman, Mr Lewis, to Governor Clark when last in Phila about the year 1813.

²⁶ Original MS. in possession of the society.

(2) The other map was forwarded by Mr Vaughan to Mr Hafsler, who in his letter dated Aug. 12. 1810 at Schenectady mentioned the receipt of it.

(3) The documents for Dr Barton, were delivered to him immediately after my arrival in Phila. Not having received any list of them from Gov^r Clark I of course took none from Dr Barton, and as I was merely the bearer of them, my recollection is not as accurate as it would have been had they fallen more immediately under my examination. My impresion however is that the packet for Dr Barton consisted of small manuscript books & some papers. The books were chiefly extracts relative to objects of natural history taken from the original Journal now deposited with the Committee. The papers were Indian vocabularies, collected during the journey. They formed, I think, a bundle of loose sheets each sheet containing a printed vocabulary in English with the corresponding Indian name in manuscript. There was also another collection of Indian vocabularies, which, if I am not mistaken, was in the handwriting of Mr Jefferson.²⁷

I have turned to my letter to Governor Clark dated July 7, 1810, the first to him after my arrival at Phila, in hopes of finding some further particulars, but the letter merely states in general terms "I need not say that I arrived safe at this place—that the map was immediately forwarded to Mr Hafsler, and that Dr Barton received all his papers." In the preface to the printed travels which, being published in Phila whilst Dr Barton was there, must be presumed to have been correct—it is stated that "those parts of the work which relate to the various objects of natural history observed or collected during the journey, as well as the alphabets of the Indian languages are in the hands of Professor Barton, and will it is understood, shortly appear." This was in 1814.

I have mentioned these particulars so minutely because the description may perhaps enable some of the Committee to recognize the vocabularies, which I incline to think were the only things delivered by me to Dr Barton not included in the volumes now deposited.

(4) The journal of Serjeant Ordway was I believe a private purchase from that person. Governor Clark in his letter to me of the 24 Jany. 1818 desires me to send it to him.

(5) The Journals of Mef^{rs} Lewis & Clark from the beginning to the end of the journey are contained in the 14 volumes, all of which are

²⁷ Several copies of the Indian vocabulary blank prepared by Jefferson are in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, having been presented by him in October, 1820. It consists of a sheet 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, printed on both sides—although there are some which were printed on but one side of a sheet twice this width, the two pages standing side by side. Those filled out represent, among others, the Miami, Micmac, Shawnee, Chippewa, and Lenape languages, while several are still blank. In the collection are none which appear to have emanated from the Lewis and Clark expedition.

now deposited. There is besides one volume of astronomical observations & other matter by Captain Lewis, a small copy book containing some notes by Captain Lewis—the rough draft of his letter to the President from St Louis announcing his return—and two statistical tables of the various tribes of Indians west of the Mifsipsipi made by Governor Clark.

These are all the observations which occur to me as promising to be useful to the Committee.

Very respectfully yrs
HONBLE WILLIAM TILGMAN,
Chairman of the Historical Committee of the Philost Society.

Here the records of Jefferson's search suddenly stop. Neither the Federal Government nor the American Philosophical Society having decided to publish them, these priceless manuscripts slumbered untouched for nearly seventy-five years in the library vault of the society, practically unknown to historical scholars. The two-volume Biddle narrative—an abbreviated paraphrase, but commonly accepted by the world as the actual journals of Lewis and Clark—had, after the first period of neglect, been reprinted over and over again in England and America (about twenty distinct editions) and been translated into the German and Dutch languages.

In 1892 Dr. Elliott Coues, eminent as a scientist and traveler, as well as an editor of American historical sources, was engaged in editing with elaborate notes a new edition of Biddle. He already had most, if not all, of his matter before him in galley proofs when (December) he learned for the first time of the existence of the original manuscripts in Philadelphia. Armed with a letter from the explorer's son, Jefferson Kearny Clark, of St. Louis, Coues requested the loan of the journals from their custodians. This was granted by the society (vote of December 16), and the manuscripts were accordingly sent to him at Washington. He considered it too late to block out the work afresh and to discard Biddle's text, but compromised by enriching his notes with many citations from the

originals—unfortunately freely modernized, as was his custom with all of the Western manuscripts which he edited—and from them also compiled a new chapter in the Biddle style, which he inserted into the body of the book as though part of the Biddle text. His modified excerpts but served to whet the appetites of Western historians, and thus led to the project for their eventual publication in extenso and with literal accuracy.

In returning the journals to the society Coues transmitted therewith a detailed report upon their scope and condition.²⁸ While in his possession he attached to each journal (or codex) a memorandum summarizing its contents, and to each codex gave an identifying letter, running from A to T.²⁹ This was commendable, but certain other liberties which he took with these precious manuscripts merit our condemnation, for in many codices he freely interlined the text with his own verbal changes and comments, and in general appeared to treat the material as though mere copy for the printer, which might be revised by him with impunity. Apparently the codices

²⁸ Published in American Philosophical Proceedings, XXXI (No. 140), pp. 17-33.

²⁹ There are in this collection eighteen notebooks in all, and twelve parcels of loose sheets. Of these, thirteen are small books, bound in red morocco covers, 8½ by 5½ inches in dimension, each containing 152 pages—seven of these books are by Lewis and six by Clark; they are collectively called "the red books," and are Codices D-P of Coues's arrangement. There is one volume by Clark of similar size, bound in brown leather and containing 274 pages, which is lettered as Codex C. Then come four bound in boards, marble paper sides, containing about 184 pages each, two being by Clark and two by both explorers, known as Codices A, B, Q, and R. The loose sheets, consisting of leaves torn from other books, are labeled Codices Aa, Ba, Fa, Fb, Fe, Fd, Fe, Ia, La, Lb, S, and T. It is difficult to say which of these, if any, were actually carried in the field. In his letter to Da Serra of April 26, 1816, already cited, Jefferson assumes that the red morocco books were carried in the field by Lewis, "in which, in his own handwriting, he had journalized all occurrences, day by day, as he travelled;" indeed, we have already seen that Jefferson called them "travelling pocket journals." Coues thinks, however, that probably none of the codices, except possibly Codex C, was a field book, but was written up afterwards. It is not necessary here to cite the evidence in detail, but I am also inclined to this view, save that as Codex C differs radically in appearance from the known Clark field book in the possession of the Voorhis family (to be described later), I am disposed to consider C as a copy, possibly made at Fort Mandan or Fort Clatsop.

were unopened by the custodians after their return, for it was not until the summer of 1903 that the society authorities were made aware, by one who was examining them in detail, of the astonishing treatment to which they had been subjected by Coues.

The next chapter in the story opened in the spring of 1901, when the society's historical committee determined—in view of the forthcoming Louisiana Purchase Centennial—at last to carry out Mr. Jefferson's suggestion, and secure the publication of the Lewis and Clark journals direct from the original manuscripts in their custody. They succeeded in interesting in this project the firm of Dodd, Mead & Co., of New York, who in turn engaged the present writer as editor of the work.

In the course of the consequent investigation into the sources there came to view in the society's library a few other Lewis and Clark items, besides the codices handled and labeled by Coues. These were chiefly statistical tables regarding the Western Indians, a meteorological record, and a list of the explorers' specimens sent from Fort Mandan to the society³⁰—matters of considerable, although not commanding, importance.

In Coues's report on the codices, as published in the Society's Proceedings,³¹ occurs this note: "One of Clark's journals is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Jefferson K. Clark, of St. Louis. I am not informed of the date covered by this volume, nor of the nature of its contents." Upon assuming charge of the proposed publication, the writer at once approached the widow of Mr. Clark—the latter had died in New York soon after the appearance of the Coues edition—and requested an opportunity of examining this notebook, under the supposition that it was

³⁰ Many of these are still preserved by the Academy of Sciences of Philadelphia.

³¹ Page 22 of publication previously cited.

the Ordway journal, which had been returned to General Clark as being his private property, purchased by him. For a long time this request and many successive appeals through friends of the family were unanswered. Later it appeared that the present owners of the papers of William Clark were his granddaughter, Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis, and her daughter, Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, both of New York city. The father of Mrs. Voorhis was the late George Rogers Hancock Clark, younger son of William, and the executor of the latter's estate. In this manner the family manuscripts relating to the expedition had descended to these two ladies.

In October, 1903, the writer was invited to visit the Voorhis home and examine material which had been uncovered during the search instituted by the ladies for the Ordway journal. The store of manuscripts which was shown to him upon his arrival was of surprising richness, consisting of the following items:

Clark Journals.

Red morocco notebook No. 1.—Diary, April 7–July 3, 1805; 38,000 words, with three maps of the Falls of the Missouri.

Field book, bound in a rude piece of elkskin, secured by a thong and button, and undoubtedly carried in Clark's pocket upon the expedition — Diary September 13–December 31, 1805; 20,000 words, with over a dozen full-page sketch maps of the trail over the mountains, interwoven with the badly-blurred text.

Red morocco notebook No. 2.—Diary, January 30–April 3, 1806; 41,000 words, with numerous pen sketches of canoes, birds, dwellings, tools, etc., by the same hand (Clark's) as those contained in Lewis's codices of similar dates in the American Philosophical Society's collection.

Red morocco notebook No. 3.—Diary, April 4–June 6, 1806; 35,000 words with some sketch maps.

Fragment of journal.—Detached leaves, giving evidently first draft of entries, April 16–21, 1806; 2,300 words.

Red morocco notebook No. 4.—No diary, but containing sundry notes and tables of weather, distances, astronomical and ethnological data — all covered, however, in more finished manuscripts in the

American Philosophical Society's collection. There are also in this book four excellent colored maps.

Miscellaneous Material.

An orderly book running from April 1–October 13, 1804, and a detached entry for January 1, 1806; detached orders promulgated at River Dubois camp February 20 and March 4, 1804; also several other detached orders issued during the expedition.

Ten letters (some of them drafts).—Lewis offering (June 19, 1803), Clark an equal partnership in command of the expedition; Clark's acceptance thereof (July 17); Clark's letter to President Jefferson (July 24), informing him of acceptance; Lewis to Clark (August 3), expressing his gratification at the latter's acceptance; six others, chiefly by Clark, relating to various phases of the expedition.

Numerous other letters and memoranda — among them an original of Jefferson's letter of credit; Clark's various military commissions before, during, and after the expedition; fragmentary records of courses and distances, Indian tribes, weather data, and the like; and data concerning the Assiniboin country, obtained from British traders at Fort Mandan.

Maps.

Most important of all the documents are about sixty detailed maps, for the most part made by Clark, while on the trip. Collectively these illustrate the greater part of the journey both going and returning, indicate camping places, and contain many interesting comments on the country and the Indians. These charts vary in size from eight inches square to several feet long.

In addition to the above materials bearing directly on the expedition, there are in this collection a considerable store of manuscripts concerning the career of William Clark during the period prior and anterior to the expedition, some of them being of much importance in connection with the early history of the territories of Louisiana and Missouri; there are also numerous manuscripts bearing upon the life of George Rogers Clark, William's elder brother. These, and several oil paintings of the Clarks — chiefly George Rogers and William — together with numerous valuable relics of these men, make of the home of Mrs. Voorhis a museum of great interest to students of Western history.

Two interesting queries arise in this connection: (1) How did General Clark obtain possession of this wealth of manuscripts, when all the records of the expedition were supposed to be in the hands of Biddle and Barton, as editors, and by the latter were delivered on Clark's order, and at Jefferson's request, to the Philosophical Society? (2) Why did not the General surrender them either to the Philosophical Society or to Jefferson, when the latter was eagerly searching for all the documents in the case, claiming them as the undoubted property of the Government, and all the while Clark was ostensibly assisting him to that end?

To the first query the probable answer is that Biddle found these particular notebooks of no service to him, for all of the facts contained in them are either in Lewis's journals of similar dates or in other drafts by Clark — as a rule, fuller and in better form. He therefore probably returned the books to Clark in the early stages of the work, keeping only those which later were placed in the society's archives and which sufficiently present the entire story of the expedition. It is probable, also, that the engraver having completed the necessary maps for the publication, all of the charts made upon the expedition were returned to Clark. As for the elkskin-bound field book, already transcribed into another volume, this probably did not go to Biddle at all. The orderly book, the various fragments, the Lewis-Clark correspondence, and the letter of credit were doubtless also kept at St. Louis as being deemed for Biddle's purpose of a popular narrative unusable material. As for the Ordway journal, it is on record that this was returned to Clark, although thus far it has not been discovered among his papers.

That these documents were not surrendered by Clark to Jefferson during the latter's search was possibly occasioned by the fact that Clark — an exceptionally busy

man, yet in this affair apparently quite lacking in business habits — had either forgotten their existence or, like Biddle, considered them as of slight historical value. His seemingly careless treatment of them would appear to bear out the last conclusion. Clark (who died in 1838) lived at a fine country homestead, "Minoma," in the outskirts of St. Louis, and kept all his private papers pigeon-holed in an old secretary. This piece of furniture came into the possession of his third son, George Rogers Hancock Clark, who in later years roughly arranged his father's papers into bundles and labeled them. His daughter, Mrs. Voorhis, some half dozen years ago, first examined these in a general way, and at once recognized their value as literary material; she was, indeed, she states, engaged in preparing some of the documents for publication when the present writer came upon the scene. His search for the Ordway journal stimulated Mrs. and Miss Voorhis into a closer scrutiny of their family treasures, and in due course negotiations were entered into with them, resulting in the inclusion of all their Lewis and Clark material in the projected publication of the original journals of the expedition.

It has often been asserted that Sergeant Pryor wrote a journal of the expedition, and some have assumed that Biddle used it in preparing the narrative of 1814; but evidence to this effect seems to be wanting — in any event, no one now seems to know the whereabouts of this manuscript. The journal (12,500 words, covering the dates March 13–August 18, 1804,) of Sergeant Floyd, the only man of the party to meet death during the trip,³² was, in the spring of 1805, sent from Fort Mandan to his parents

³² Floyd, aged about 20 years (possibly 23), died near the site of the present Sioux City, Iowa, May 14, 1804, and was buried on the top of a neighboring bluff. The site is now marked by a stately stone monument dedicated (May 30, 1901,) to his memory by the Floyd Memorial Association. See reports of the association — First, 1897; second, 1901.

in Kentucky, and eventually became the property of the Wisconsin Historical Society. It was published in 1894 in the proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, with an introduction by James Davie Butler. Soon after the return of the expedition, Robert Fraser, one of the privates, solicited subscriptions in Vermont for a publication of his journal, to be "contained in about 400 pages octavo"; but it did not appear, and the present writer has no knowledge of the manuscript. The existence of a journal (67,000 words, covering the dates May 14, 1804–November 6, 1805,) by Private Joseph Whitehouse was unknown until recently. It was purchased in San Francisco by Dodd, Mead & Co., to be published in connection with the original journals of Lewis and Clark. After having been edited for the press the manuscript was acquired from the publishers by Edward E. Ayer, the well-known Chicago collector.

Thus, seventy-five years after Jefferson's quest, and within a few weeks of a hundred years after the arrival of the Lewis and Clark expedition at their preliminary camp on River Dubois, there have at last been located presumably all of the literary records now extant of that notable enterprise in the cause of civilization.

When published, as they bid fair to be within a twelve-month, their original journals will create a new interest in the deeds of Lewis and Clark. Not only are they much more extensive than the Biddle narrative, and the voluminous scientific data—in botany, zoology, meteorology, geology, astronomy, and ethnology—an almost entirely new contribution; but we obtain from the men's notebooks, as written from day to day, a far more vivid picture of the explorers and their life than can be seen through the alembic of Biddle's impersonal condensation.

The pages of the journals are aglow with human interest. The quiet, even temper of the camp; the loving

consideration that each of the two leaders felt for the other; the magnanimity of Lewis, officially the leader, in equally dividing every honor with his friend, and making no move without the latter's consent; the poetic temperament of Lewis, who loved flowers and animals, and in his notes discoursed like a philosopher who enjoyed the exercise of writing; the rugged character of Clark, who wrote in brief, pointed phrases, and, less educated of the two, spelled phonetically, capitalized chaotically, and occasionally slipped in his grammar—all these, and more, are evident on every page, causing the reader deeply to admire the men and to follow them in their often thrilling adventures with the keenest sympathy and anticipation. We shall hereafter know Lewis and Clark as we never knew them before. The Biddle narrative will no doubt continue to live as the brief popular account of an exploration fraught with great consequence to American expansion; but at least the student of history will feel that the original records, as the men wrote them on the spot, are by far the more satisfying of the two.

DR. JOHN SCOULER'S JOURNAL OF A
VOYAGE TO N. W. AMERICA.*

COLUMBIA, VANCOUVRE, & NOOTKA SOUND.

Attached to the study of medicine & its kindred sciences, I eagerly embraced the opportunity which unexpectedly presented itself of investigating the natural history of the N W coast of America¹. Its botanical riches had already been explored by the zeal of Nelson & Menzies, but the interesting collection of Governor Lewis, convinced me that much remained to be done in the country West of the Stony Mountains. If many gleanings remained to reward the botanist; the geology & zoology of the country were yet untouched, and the success of Dr. Richardson in a country better known, encouraged me with the prospect of adding some new individuals to the class Rodentia. While in London I received much useful information from Mr. Menzies and Dr. Richardson & the inspection of their specimens enabled me to form some idea of American botany, & of the best manner of collecting and preserving the various subjects of natural history in the remote countries I was about to visit.

On the 25 July we left Gravesend furnished with every necessary for the collection and preservation of plants & animals. In the prospect of a long voyage I deemed myself particularly fortunate in the company of Mr. Douglass who was employed by the Horticultural Society in

*See "Editorial Prefatory Notes," volume V. pages 215-222.

The editor had the kind assistance of Dr. David Starr Jordan, Professor Albert Sweetzer, and Mr. E. P. Sheldon in identifying the scientific names found in this journal. The journal was not written in a plain hand and much of it had become very faint.

¹Dr. Scouler was the ship surgeon on the Hudson Bay Company's vessel "William and Anne." His voyage occupied the latter part of 1824 all of 1825, and the first part of 1826.

similar pursuits. In him I enjoyed the society of an old friend & zealous botanical associate.

During our voyage from London to Madeira where we arrived on the 10 of August, nothing [of] any interest occurred to attract the attention of the naturalist. The weather was delightfull & my time was occupied in examining the luminous appearance exhibited by the ocean & in making those arrangements which my new mode of life required. During our short passage the only bird we saw was the *Proullaria Pelageia*. On the 9 August we saw the island of Porto Santo, but the weather was so calm that it was the evening of the 10th before we came to anchor of[f] Funchal.

In the morning impatient to make the most of our time & in company with Mr. Douglass, I proceeded to the interior of the island. Although we had no difficulty in filling our vascula with plants and procured a few insects & lizards, the results of our journey did not satisfy our sanguine expectations. The phenogamous plants we procured were sufficiently well known, we did not obtain a single moss or see a species of pinger-sucunia [?]. In the more alpine regions the plants are nearly the same as those that grow in the hills of Scotland as the *Pteris aquilina* L. and *Genista scoparia* L. To give any description of an island so well known as Madeira would be superfluous & to acquire a knowledge of its vegetable productions in a single day is impossible. Madeira consists of steep hills of rapid, abrupt ascent, intersected by numerous deep ravines and vallies generally watered by some small rivulet, that derives its water from the melting of the snow of the more elevated hills. The rocks are of a black colour inclining to blue & many of them are in a state of decomposition and afford a favourable soil for the cultivation of the vine. The rocks as far as I could judge appear to be of volcanic origin & in the progress of our

voyage I was confirmed in my opinion by an examination of the rocks of Juan Fernandez which have much resemblance to those of Madeira & where the volcanic relics are more distinct.

The soil afforded by the decomposition of volcanic rocks seems to be the most favourable to the growth of the vine, which thrives luxuriantly on the sides of Mount Vesuvius, the hills of Madeira & the valleys of Juan Fernandez. At Madeira the method of cultivating the grape is different from that employed by the French or Italians. A number of poles about 6 feet high are fixed in the earth at short distances & others are put across the tops of the erect ones, by this method [the] vine obtains sufficient support & the air is allowed to circulate freely through the plants.

13th August we left Madeira & on the 18th our proximity to the tropic was indicated by the abundance of flying fish we saw. The best way of preserving these fish is to put them into spirits, & this method has the advantage of putting it [in] our power at any future period to examine their internal organization as well as their external characters. In large fishes, however, the expense & inconvenience of this method would be very great; in such cases the more convenient plan is to dry the skin and preserve the viscera in spirits.

23d.—The examination and dissection of a turtle we had procured at Madeira, contributed to add a little variety to constant uniformity of our voyage. The sp. of turtle found off Madeira appears to be the *T. carucena*. It is not to be expected that an animal so well known as the turtle should present anything new to the comparative anatomist. It is curious that an aquatic animal like the turtle should be furnished with so large a lachrymal gland. This gland is a large granulated organ, loosely connected by cellu[l]ar substance to the internal part of the orbit. The larynx is destitute of epiglottis but the aperture is long and

narrow & easily shut by the approximation of its margins [?]. The entrance of foreign bodies may be further guarded against by the curvated projecting eminence formed by the body of *os hyoides*.

2d September.—Great abundance of that beautifull zoophyte the *Medusa Velella* of Gmelin is now to be seen floating in every direction. This animal belonging to the genus *Velella* of Lamarck is distinguished from the *Physaliæ* of the same author in the direction of the projecting crest which is oblique in the *velella* & from the presence of a mouth which is absent in the *Physaliæ*. The *Velella* is of an ovate oblong shape, cartilaginous and laminated, the circumference of a beautifull azure colour umbell, a little convex, with a fine pellucid crest extending obliquely from one pole of the animal to the other. The tentaculæ are not marginal but placed around the orifice of the mouth & of a deep azure colour. The mouth terminates in a deep concave oval cavity of a red granulated appearance.

3d.—Last night we had rather foul weather, & according to the report of those on deck the sea exhibited an uncommonly beautifull phosphorescent appearance. Several specimens of the zoophyte to whose presence this appearance was probably owing were procured. This animal belongs to the genus *Beroë* of Mueller. The body is from 1 to 2 inches in length & about the thickness of the finger & round & transparent. On its surface are numerous scattered tubercles. At the one pole is the mouth which is a circular orifice, but I could detect no trace of tentaculæ; the other pole has a somewhat globular form, but has no aperture. The cavity extends through the axis of the body & has an oval form. On the surface of the cavity are many little yellowish *papillæ* which have little black points [orifices?] in the centre; these *papillæ*

appear to communicate by means of short tubes with the external tubercles.

22d.—These few days past we have been accompanied by many birds we did not se[e] in the Northern hemisphere, the most abundant and beautifull of these is the *Procellariæ Capensis*, but although they greedily devoured the oily substances we threw over to them, all our endeavours to procure a specimen have been unsuccessfull.

25th.—The presence of several land birds, the quantity of *Fuci* [?] floating past us and the number of butterflys, that alighted on the vessell, indicated our approach to land. In the afternoon these prognostics were verified by the agre[e]able report of land ahead & Cape Frio was the first land in the New World I had the pleasure of seeing.

26th.—While sailing into the harbour of Rio De Janeiro my mind was entirely occupied in anticipating the rich harvest of natural objects which awaited me. Every thing I had read of the beauty & riches of tropical countries & the recollection of the tropical plants I had an opportunity of examining at home, now presented themselves to my memory. To see from the deck of the vessell, the hills covered with richest verdure and the palms raising their head above their brethren of the forest could not but please the imagination and try the patience of the naturalist.

28th.—This morning we landed at Rio, & neglecting its public edifices, I made my way to the country furnished with my vasculum & box for holding insects. I soon filled my vasculum and loaded with as many more plants as I could well carry I returned to the ship along the sea coast, where every variety of marine animal abounded, as *Holothuria*, *Limuli*, *Actiniæ*, & *Echini*, etc., etc.

29th.—To-day my expectations of exploring the botany of Rio was dissatisfied by the heavy showers that fell & drove the musquitoes into the shade, so that one is exposed to the double inconvenience of the wet and the bite of the insects. I called on Dr. Hookers friend Mr. Bray [?] to whose kindness I was much indebted during my stay here. His politeness added some fine serpents to my collection of reptiles & his country house was open to me in all my excursions.

30th.—Although the rain continues very heavy, fatigued with yesterday's inactivity I resolved to venture forth. In my progress toward the hills I had no difficulty in selecting specimens among the profusion of Begoniæ, Melastomæ & Filices among which I pursued my journey. In the afternoon as I returned loaded with plants and moisture, I finished this day by a pleasing adventure. As I was returning to the town, I was met by a gentleman who entered into conversation with me on botanical subjects & as he spoke French fluently we had no difficulty in carrying on our discourse. On parting Dr. Gomez said our love for the same science, was a sufficient introduction among botanists & invited me to spend all my leisure hours with him. Dr. G. had studied in Paris & was well versed in the natural system, a partiality for it he had derived from the lectures of M. Richard.

The few remaining days I had to spend at Rio were entirely occupied in making excursions to the neighbouring woods & mountains; but although I easily collected as many plants as I was well able to carry, the continual rains rendered them so difficult to prepare, that I lost above half the collection I had amassed.

In one of my excursions I ascended the highest hills in the neighbourhood of the town & although the height was very moderate the heat of the climate rendered it a sufficiently fatiguing journey. I walked for about 2 miles

along the course of the little stream which supplies the aqueduct with water & had a fine opportunity of examining the geological structure of the country. On the coast the granite extends along all that part of the bay to which my observations extended, these, however, were confined to the south western part. The granite near the sea is curious from the large size of its crystals of felspar, they are frequently two or three inches long; the crystals of mica are also large. Near the coast the granite is protected from the weather by a thin stratum of soil, but as we ascend to the elevation of a thousand feet the rocks are entirely exposed & destitute of vegetables. These rocks have a white bleached appearance, & consist of decomposing granite, so altered that its component minerals can with difficulty be recognized. The summit of this hill is about 2000 feet above the level of the sea, & is occupied by the Brazilian government as a signal post, for which purpose, it is admirably adapted as it commands a beautiful & extensive prospect of the neighbouring country. At the base of the hill the bay of Rio, the town [&] adjacent country appear like a map spread at one's feet. To the north Cape Frio sixty miles distant is to be seen, & the eye is lost in the boundless ocean; to the south the bay of Bota Fogo with numerous little islands & promontories gives variety to the scene. The summit of the hill is composed of granite, but not in so decomposing a state as that of the inferior part of the hill, & is of a more fine structure than that of the sea coast. The crystals of mica and felspar are much smaller, & the former is frequently of a dark [color], which is not the case with the mica of the coast.

In the journey the variety of natural objects that attracted my attention were endless, every step I advanced presented me with some new gift [?] from [the] Flora & on every twig some beautiful insect attracted my attention.

I collected ferns of all kinds from the minute *Trichomones* & *Hymenophyllum* to the gigantic *Polypodia*, & the variety of *Salana* & *Piper* [?] was sufficient to satisfy the most zealous botanist. I had also an opportunity of seeing the beautifull *Iguana heterolepina* [?]; this beautifull lizard feeds on leaves & fruits & is a much prized luxury among the people of Rio. The procuring of reptiles was a hazardous undertaking & I only procured one snake which was reckoned one of the most venomous species about Rio. On my return to town I made rather a curious appearance, I had a large vasculum on my back, my pockets were filled with the granite of Rio; my hat outside & inside was pinned full of insects & both my arms full of plants.

My next excursion was to the botanic gar[d]en at Bota Fogo. It is about 6 miles from town, & is finely situated at the foot of a range of lofty hills, & has a distant view of the ocean. It occupies a large space of ground & is more a nursery for introducing foreign plants than a scientific garden. This garden may boast of several interesting plants, as the breadfruit, cloves, tea, & other valuable oriental vegetables. I had a note to Mr. Harris the curator of the garden & from him expected much botanical [information] of which I was dissapointed by his absence. In the town there is a sort of botanic garden which serves as a public walk and possesses a few interesting plants.

From the great number of foreigners that frequent Rio & from the short distance between it & Europe, the society is probably much superior to that of any of the other Spanish or Portugese colonies of S. America. When a naturalist visits Rio he will not fail to find agreeable society & to find many, who though they may not be naturalists themselves will give their countenance to all who are engaged in such pursuits. Indeed science seems to

be more talked & more interest taken in its improvements than in many towns at home. Although the native Brazilians are not altogether excluded from these remarks, still they apply with far greater force to the English settlers. The people of Rio have probably derived improvement from their intercourse with our countrymen.

25th.—We are now proceeding rapidly to Cape Horn & are beginning to experience a corresponding change of climate. The *Procellaria pelagia* has now dissappeared, but we still see abundance of *P. Capensis*, & the albatross, *Diomedea fuliginosa*, has begun to make his appearance. By means of a fish hook baited with a small piece of fat pork I succeeded in procuring four individuals of *P. capensis*. When taken hold of they always vomited a quantity of yellow oily matter. This seems to [be] a means of defense they are provided with, as they generally aim it at some one, & throw it to a considerable distance. The œsophagus is capacious & dilatable & is terminated in a large membranous stomach, which leads to a smaller muscular one. The first stomach when cut into was found to contain a great quantity of small crabs which seem to form the principal food of the bird, at least in this part of the ocean. The liver consists of two lobes of nearly equal size, & the convolutions of the intestines are numerous.

29th.—The weather very cold the thermometer is now down to 50, certainly a great change to those who had been accustomed to a temperature of 80 for three months. During the time we were becalmed today vast quantity of seaweed floated past, which we suspected might be carried off[f] the coast by the current of the La Plata. We succeeded in procuring a large mass of this fucus. The roots of this plant were a treasure to the zoologist, & might be called a menagerie of marine animals. We obtained two sp. of shell, three *Asterias*, an *Echinus*, two sp. of *Cancer* & *Heruda* [?] & several other articulated animals.

November 4th.—Last night was the first disagreeable one we have experienced since leaving England. It blew very hard during the night and we shipped several heavy seas. However we esteemed ourselves fortunate in getting around Cape Horn with so little bad weather. It must be acknowledged that the dangers of C. Horn have been greatly exaggerated & we invariably find that the most experienced sailor talks le[a]st about them. No doubt as hard gales as those that blow off[f] C. Horn are often experienced in the western ocean. Many travellers are apt to throw an air of the marvellous over what they have seen, but these horrid phantoms dissappear before the intelligent visitor.

8th.—This [day] as it was nearly calm & the ship was surrounded by albatrosses, in the course of an hour we succeeded in catching 20 of them; they were all of dusky black colour, & belonged to the species *D. fulginosa*.

They were very large and one of them measured seven [feet] from wing to wing. The physiognomy of these animals is very curious. Their flat forehead & large eyes & very convex *corneæ*, make them resemble an owl, & renders it probable that they seek their prey by night.

Their *æsofagus* is large & plentifully furnished with nerves; it is prolonged into a stomach of about the same capacity, but is more muscular & has many longitudinal *rugæ* on its internal surface; it is, however, destitute of glandular bodies. The stomach of *P. Capensis* on the other hand is quite covered on its internal surface with little glands which serve to secrete the oleaginous fluid. The second stomach of the albatross is moderately muscular. The intestines and liver resemble those of the *P. Capensis*. Their flesh tasted fishey & disagree[e]able, but was much prized by the sailors who preferred them to salt beef. What forms their chief food is most assuredly not fishes, for inspecting the stomach of a great many

individuals, I only found a species of crab & some Physalæ. One of them when taken vomited a large pulpey [mass] which with difficulty was recognized to be a Sepia.

20th.—Today we had very blowey weather & the wind unfavourable which obliged us to be under close reefed top sails. This weather did not last long & we were soon enabled to bear away to the northward.

December 5th.—Mr. Douglass caught three albatross, they were very different from those we had procured further south. Their plumage was more light, than in the *D. fuliginosa* & their bill was of a milk white colour. These birds were very large, one of them weighed 18 pounds, & measured 12 feet between the extremities of the wings. They appeared to be the *D. exulans*; but unfortunately were incapable of preservation as this was their moulting season. The feathers of these birds abounded in a large species of *Painus* [*Mallophaga*] probably a new one; & in their intestines I found two different kinds of worms, one of them approached the diameter of the genus *Fuscola* [?] & the [other] I did not decide. I have preserved specimens of these three animals.

14th.—Since 5th we have seen very few birds the albatrosses & *Procellaria* have disappeared; but this morning the abundance of birds about us seemed to indicate the vicinity of land & we were not dissappointed. In the forenoon the island of Masafuera was seen bearing NNE. The surface of this island was unequal & rugged & terminating abruptly toward the sea; so as to render it of very difficult access. The highest land we saw might be about 200 feet above the level of the ocean.

15th.—To-day the Island of Juan Fernandez was seen, though still at a very great distance. The fascinating descriptions of this island in the voyages of Anson and others, but still more I believe the popular romance intimately connected with its history, rendered every one

on board impatient to pay a visit to the far famed island.

17th.—To-day we landed in a small bay on the northern extremity of the island, & the botanists & sailors of our party were equally anxious to satisfy their curiosity. The place we landed in more resembled a European corn field than a desolate vall[e]y in the Pacific Ocean. The level ground near the shore was entirely overgrown with oats interspersed with a species of *carduus* & a few wild carrot, *D. carota*. On penetrating through this field we discovered a small cavern excavated from the decomposing rock & having evident traces of having been recently inhabited. We here found a pair of goatskin shoes and a sort of lamp suspended from the roof of the cavern; & the number of bones & horns scattered about, showed that there was no scarcity of cattle on the island. On proceeding a little to the eastward of this cavern which our sailors were certain had belonged to Robinson Crusoe, our curiosity was amply recompensed [by] a beautifull example of romantic scenery. A natural elliptic arch about seven feet in height, admitted us to a small bay, bounded on all sides by steep perpendicular rocks against whose bases the waves maintained a perpetual conflict. Its steep & almost inaccessible crags afforded a secure retreat to the sea fowl that resort thither to deposite their eggs. These rocks are of a volcanic nature & contain interspersed through them many minute crystals perhaps olivine. In this wild retreat I picked up sponges of which a considerable portion had been washed ashore; we also succeeded in detaching by means of long sticks a fine species of *Spergula* which adhered to the surface of the rocks.

Having now satisfied our curiosity respecting the shore, we betook ourselves to the vall[e]y in expectation of finding some more plants. Here we found a streamlet of excellent water, which was first detected by its rippling; as its surface was entirely concealed from our notice by the

immense quantities of *Mentha piperita* & *Melissa officinalis* which grew on its margins. In the afternoon we returned to the ship well satisfied with our collection, but with very little water as the stream lost itself in the sand about 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the beach.

17th.—We now landed in Cumberland Bay which we found much superior to the bay we had visited yesterday for procuring water & refreshments. On approaching the landing place we were surprised by the appearance of a smoke arising among the trees & of two goats feeding near the shore. On landing we were pleased at the unexpected appearance of an Englishman who came & offered us all the assistance in his power. He told us that at first he had taken us for the boat's crew of a Spanish privateer & had betook himself to the woods as his little establishment on shore had been formerly destroyed by a Royalist party. His name was William Clark, he had sailed from Liverpool several years ago and he had visited almost every port of the S. Pacific. At present he belongs to a party of English & Chilians employed by a merchant of Coquimbo engaged in killing the goats & bullocks which are so plentiful here & in remitting their flesh & skins to different parts of Chili. We were all highly delighted with this beautiful spot. A fine stream of water fell into the bay a few yards from our boat, the sea abounded in excellent fish & European fruits were scattered about in profusion. We enumerated the following foreign vegetables: oats, pears, apples, strawberries, peaches, vines, rue, mint, balm, radishes, Indian mess [mace] & figs. Our new acquaintance informed us that his companions were at the other extremity of the island killing cattle & that he was left to take care of the house and property. He had a little European furniture in his cottage but it was in an injured state. He had an iron pot to boil his meat in but the bottom was knocked out; to get over this diffi-

culty he had repaired it with a wooden one & when he had occasion to boil anything he buried his pot in the earth so high as to prevent the fire from injuring the wood, & then made a fire around the sides.

During our short excursion to the interior, we had no occasion to complain of the poverty of the country, which abounded in the most beautiful plants & shrubs; the dry soil was covered by an ever green arbutus & a herbaceous species of *Campanula*, & almost every shady rock afforded a different species of ferns.

Cumberland Bay used to be the favourite resort of the English cruisers & whalers & its utility to them in time of war was so great as to excite the jealousy of the Spaniards who in 1765 constructed a battery mounting 50 guns to command the harbour, & at the same time formed a settlement on the island. In a few years the Spaniards abandoned their establishment which was revived in 1811 by the Chilean government as a place of banishment for their convicts. This settlement like the preceding one was abandoned after a short trial. At present the island is visited only by the English & American whalers, & is the more permanent residence of the adventurers who are employed in killing & curing cattle. The battery which still remains almost uninjured is situated on an eminence about 500 yards from the beach & effectually commands the landing place. Most of the guns remained till a few years ago when they were removed by the Chilians to prevent their falling into the hands of the Royalist privateers.

There are also the remains of the church which the independents had erected and of many houses. The church is built in the form of the latin cross & bears the following inscription: La cara de Dios puerto del cielo y sacolac aesta 24d septembre 1811. Although the doors & windows of the building are removed it was still possessed

of the font and the walls in some parts preserved their whitewashed appearance. To the N. E. of the church is a beautiful plane watered by the largest rivulet we had seen, & quite covered by corn fields which are still separated from one another by their ancient land marks. As this valley approaches the hills, the clusters of *Pteris* raising their green fronds on the margins of the stream has a most pleasing appearance, & is in my opinion the most beautifull vegetable ornament of the island.

Land animals are by no means numerous on Juan Fernandez, nor can it boast of a single indigenous mammiferous animal. The bullock, the goat & the rat are the only animals of this class found on it, & all of them have been introduced. The cattle are now driven from the north side of the island by the frequent visits it receives. The people who are employed in procuring them adopt the following methods: The bullocks are driven into a small plane bounded on all sides by steep hills & are then shot. In taking the goats a different method is pursued. The hunters lay down in those situations that goats frequent & as they leap over them they cut their hamstrings with a sharpe knife.

The island is entirely destitute of lizards and serpents. The rocky shores afford a safe retreat to the *Procellaria* & other sea fowls which abound near the island. Land birds are not so numerous, we only saw a species of pigeon & those only of small size.

The bay abounds in inex[h]austible supplies of fish so that although the visitor may be dissappointed in procuring any cattle from the shore, he may be certain of an abundant supply of fresh provisions. Our limited time did not allow me to examine the fish we caught with sufficient care. The most abundant & the best is a species of *Gadus* & the rocks are almost covered by a sp. of *Cyclopterus*.

The articulata are much more numerous than the vertebrata on Juan Fernandez. Although we saw but five insects I have every reason to suppose that at a more advanced period of the year they are very plentiful, for almost every bush has its peculiar caterpillars on it. The rocks & stones abounded in crabs & the deep water afforded a sp. of *Astæus*. After some labour I succeeded in obtaining a specimen, & as far as I can judge it appears to be a new sp. The antennæ of this lobster are as long as its body, which is covered with spines & is of a red colour. Radiated animals are by no means uncommon, a sp. of *Asterias* is very common furnished with from 25 to 38 rays. *Actiniæ* are very beautiful & abundant. We also found *Spongiæ*, *Sertularia* & *Coralliniæ*.

Concerning the geological structure of Juan Fernandez I obtained very little information. The island consists of deep vallies, bounded by elevated hills which terminate in the rocky mountains of the islands. The rocks which I had an opportunity of seeing were basaltic, of a dark bluish colour & contained crystals of olivine. In some situations these rocks were in a state of rapid decay. The whole appearance of the island bears a close resemblance to that of Madeira.

19th.—Today we left Juan Fernandez & directed our course to the N. W. This island for beauty of & richness of verdure exceeds any place we have yet visited, & is well entitled to the encomiums bestowed on it by navigators. Independent of its natural scenery the deserted houses & ruined gardens give variety to the appearance of the place, & give it an air of stillness & solitude that the unsettled desert never possesses.

January 7th.—This evening for the first time during our voyage the *Sterna Stolidæ* alighted on our vessel. It seems to be entirely confined to the tropics, & is remarkable for the stupidity with which it allows itself to be taken.

9th.—Chatham Island, one of the Gallipagos, appeared in sight this morning. Its appearance did not indicate any great fertility. The land consisted of low round conical hills & of a flat sandy beach against which the sea beat with some violence.

10th.—Today we were off [f] James Island & the boat was sent ashore to ascertain what was to be found. The land is in some places abundant in trees & shrubs & have a verdant aspect, while other parts are completely destitute of vegetables & consist entirely of melted lava. Such at least was its appearance from the ship. In the afternoon the boat returned bringing two very large turtles, *Chelonia syranas* [?], & plenty of fine fish.

11th.—Today I visited the shore in the long boat & we had a little difficulty in landing on account of the surf. The place where we landed was a low & sandy bar of sand which separated a small lagoon or salt water lake from the sea. Here we found many indications of former visitors, in several places there were remains of island tortoises near the situations where fires had been. The most affecting & unexpected memorial of former visitors was the tomb of an American officer. It was situated on the sandy beach & was accidentally discovered, as it [was] concealed from notice by the thick shrubbery. At the head of the grave there was a board painted black, & bearing the following inscription: Sacred to the memory of John Cowan, Lieutenant of the U. S. frigate Essex, who died here September, 1813. His memory is lamented by his friends & country & honoured by his brother officers.

On penetrating into the country we found very few plants, at least few in comparison to what one might expect in such a climate. The abundance & interesting nature of the animals amply compensated for the scarcity of the plants. Indeed, the heat & moisture of the country

was so great as to prevent us from preparing even the few that we thought were nondescript.

12th.—In this day's excursion we detected a wood about tolerably free from brush wood & abounding in —[illegible] & grass; this situation afforded plenty of food to the land tortoises—which abound here. Our principal difficulty consisted in taking them to the shore which was a most fatiguing occupation under such a sun & travelling over loose masses of lava.

The birds here were such strangers to man as to allow us to knock them of(f) the branches on which they were perched, & it was not an uncommon thing for them to alight upon the stick which we carried in our hand. In pursuing this amusement I lost my way among a very dense brush wood composed of *Gossypia T.* & it cost me an hour & a half fatiguing exertion to extricate myself from the labarynth & reach the boat.

In the evening we returned to the ship with an ample supply of such refreshments as the place afforded. We had as many as we thought fit to carry off, about 2 doz. teal killed by Mr. Douglass, six large green turtles, & two land tortoises, & plenty of Iguanas.

It is an extensive labour, & would require a more extensive knowledge of the island than can be acquired in a transient visit of two days, to give an account of the natural productions. The only mammiferous animal we saw was a species of seal with very short brown hair, & very small external ears. Birds are very numerous, particularly marine onx & grallæ. It is remarkable that the penguin (*Aptenodytes*) an animal which generally delights in cold latitudes should take its abode under the equator. The *Pelecanus onocrotulus* [?] abounds on every rock, there was a beautifull species of *Sula* equally abundant, & is in all probability a new species. Its colours are very fine & the feet are of a very bright azure blue. On the most elevated

rocks we frequently saw a small eagle of a golden yellow colour, & in the woods the most common species of *Columba*. This bird was the size of a large sparrow, & the feathers of the neck had a bright metallic lustre. I have preserved a specimen of this bird which is probably new.

The animals of the class Reptilia are numerous & interesting; & belong to the genera *Testuda*, *Iguana*, *Lacerta*.

The land tortoise (*T. indica*) abounds in the mountains, & was of very large size. They are very peaceable animals & withdrew themselves into their shells on the appearance of danger. They live entirely upon grass, of which they seem to eat large quantities. Their flesh was excellent & entirely free from the fishy flavour of the sea turtles. The green turtle (*T. viredes*) is exceedingly abundant & is of very great size, frequently weighing 240 lbs. We had two methods of taking them, we either surprised them while they were asleep on shore or caught them while in the water which was more difficult. We approached them in the boat making as little noise as possible, while a man stood ready to fix a tomahawk into his back, & to hold the animal till it could be lifted into the boat. This plan was attended by one inconvenience that the turtle may often [be] so much injured as to die in a few days. The woods abound in a large species of *Iguana* which I think is new. I attempted to preserve a specimen but it became so putrid as to oblige me to throw it away. It is about 29 inches long. The back & sides are of a brown colour & the belly is yellow. The whole skin was covered by small scaly tubercles; & had a ridge of very large & pointed ones extending from the occiput to the extremity of the tail. There was a dilatation under the throat but no large tubercles in that situation. The tongue was fleshy, inextensible & slightly bilobed at the point. The lungs were of large size & of a very delicate texture, & extended far into the abdomen. The stomach was very

capacious & quite membranous. These creatures live entirely on fruit & leaves & burrow very far into the ground. They are exceedingly abundant & easily killed. They are harmless & timid creatures & always run from their assailant except when wounded, when in that predicament they sometimes turn on their pursuer. We found them to be excellent eating, & much superior to the green turtle. An aquatic species of smaller size and less frequent occurrence was also procured & I succeeded in preserving an example of it. The shore abounded in a large species of *Lacerta*. It is probably one of the largest species of the genus. Snakes are said to be frequent on these islands, & to be of large size. During the three days we were on the island not a single serpent was seen by any individual of our party.

The sea in the vicinity of these islands abounded in fish of different kinds, the most abundant was a species of *Gadus*. It was our practice when returning to the ship to spend half an hour in fishing & in that time we procured more than we would consume in two days. Shells & molluscous animals were by no means abundant. The articulate were more abundant. The shore abounded in an endless variety of crabs many of them of considerable size and remarkable beauty. The woods contained plenty of fine insects, & the most beautiful one was a species *Gryllus* with fine purple elytra. Radiata were very limited in number & of very little interest. No species of *Asterias* or *Echinus* was seen, & only individuals belonging to the *Echinodermata* one a species of *Holothuria*.

To one whose knowledge of rocks & of geological phenomena had been confined to the primitive & transition districts of Scotland, James Island presents a new series of geological phenomena of the utmost interest to those who cultivate that science.

The appearance of the island varies in different places; in some parts the coast rises into perpendicular ragged

cliffs, attaining to the height of 80 or 100 feet; in other situations it assumes the form of a low sandy beach, forming the bar[r]ier between the sea & some salt water lake. The mountains are generally of a conical shape & of a very gradual ascent & moderate elevation. The country is generally covered by a rich vegetation, except where the lava has run down and there very few plants grow. While walking over these streams of volcanic matter, it gives a peculiar crackling sound, precisely similar to that caused by walking over the ashes of the smelting furnace. In some places there are large colum[n]s formed entirely by lava. Near the landing place I examined one of these columns. It was situated amidst a stream of lava, & had an exceedingly rough & uneven surface, & reached to the height of 60 or 70 feet. This wild inaccessible abode was occupied by the golden eagle of the Gallipagos. The lava was of the three following varieties :

- 1 Of a black colour, very vesicular & rather light.
- 2 Colour black or brown; slaggy & very hard.
- 3 Of a red ochr[e]ous colour, very soft & subvesicular & heavy.

During my excursion I had not the good fortune to detect a vestige of craters; but Mr. Douglass informed me he had seen one a little to the S. E. of where we landed. In all the pieces of lava I examined I did not find any vestiges of imbedded minerals. The Gallipagos as will be seen by this very incomplete notice of their productions are peculiarly rich in the objects of scientific research. While the perplexing varieties of natural objects Rio affords, & the romantic scenery & fertile vallies of Juan Fernandez are recollected, the Gallipagos will not lose by the contrast. The uncommon nature of its productions & the interest of its geological phenomena, easily reconcile one to its arid soil and fatiguing journey under a vertical sun. When landing the first object that strikes

one's attention is the beauty & variety of its crustaceæ, & here & there on the beach the *Testudo veridis* [?] is seen sleeping; on wandering along the rocks the rich variety of aquatic birds must satisfy the most zealous ornithologist. On the same piece of rock he may see the pelican, the penguin, the Sula & a[1]batross watching their prey; and in the woods he will find abundance of passerres, Columba & a species of Falco of the most beautiful colour. On advancing a little the remarkable and numerous individuals of the reptilia & insects will please him still more; among grasses of Gossypium, Tournefortia & trees of the most beautiful inflorescence he will find the land tortoise grazing upon the most interesting Graminæ. An island that abounds in so many interesting volcanic appearances, & bearing so closely upon the most interesting geological phenomena will always command the attention of the investigator of this department of nature.

SKETCH OF A JOURNEY TO THE NORTH- WESTERN PARTS OF THE CONTI- NENT OF NORTH AMERICA,

DURING THE YEARS 1824-'25-'26-'27.

By DAVID DOUGLAS, F. L. S.

*Reprinted from "The Companion to the Botanical Magazine," Volume II,
London, 1836.*

III.

Excursion to North California* and the Umptqua or Arguilar River, etc., to Procure Cones of the Gigantic Pine.

September 1st, Friday.—In the morning saw my chests placed in a boat, which was going with cargo to the ship at sea. I had intended to accompany my collections, and see them stowed in the *Dryad*; but meeting Captain Davidson, who had come to the Fort, to take leave of the gentlemen there, I mentioned my wishes to him, and gladly embraced the opportunity of resting, and writing a few lines to my friends in England.

Saturday, 2d, to Friday, 15th.—Weather warm and cloudy, with heavy dews at night. Employed myself gleanng a few seeds of the choice plants that I had collected last year, especially *Ribes sanguineum*, *Gaultheria Shallon*, *Acer macrophylla* and *circinnata*, *Berberis Aquifolium*, etc.; and laid in specimens of *Pinus taxifolia*, with fine cones. I also obtained a few sections of the various woods, gums and specimens of the bark of those timber trees which compose the forest in this vicinity. I consulted Mr. McLoughlin on the practicability of visiting the country south of the Columbia, on the Multnomak and Umptqua

*The text shows that Mr. Douglas did not penetrate to the boundary of what is now "North California."—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

rivers. It had been my intention to accompany Jean Baptiste McKay, one of the hunters, who often visits this district, but he had unfortunately started just previous to my arrival, and knowing nothing of the country myself, I feared it would be impracticable to follow and overtake him. Mr. McLoughlin, however, informs me that a party will be despatched in a few days in that direction, under the superintendence of Mr. A. R. McLeod, who has formerly showed me much civility, and that there will be nothing to prevent my joining him. So favourable an opportunity is not to be lost.

Friday, 15th.—Mr. McLeod set off first, to go by land to McKay's abandoned establishment on the Multnomak, fifty-six miles above its junction with the Columbia: there he will remain till the rest of the party arrive, who will go in a few days.

Saturday, 16th, to Tuesday, 19th.—Employed making preparations for my march. As my gun has quite failed me, I am under the necessity of purchasing another, which only costs £2. The country whither we are bound being unexplored, and totally unknown south of the Umpqua or Arguilar River, each individual is obliged to restrict himself to the least possible quantity of incumbrances, especially as land conveyance increases the difficulty. I packed up six quires of paper and a few other small articles, requisite for what I call *my business*, and provided myself with a small copper kettle, and a few trifles, with a little tobacco for presents, and to pay my way on my return. All the personal property I shall carry, except what is on my back, consists of a strong linen shirt and a flannel one; but as heavy rains may be expected near the coast, I indulge myself with two blankets and a tent. Mr. McLoughlin has most generously and considerately sent forward, to wait for me on the Multnomak, one of his finest and most powerful horses. It will

serve either for riding or carrying my baggage, as may be required.

20th, Wednesday.—Left Fort Vancouver in company with Mr. Manson, and a party of twelve men, in a boat containing hunting implements, and arrived on the third day (Friday, the 22d,) at Mr. McLeod's encampment.

23d to 27th.—Little progress made, because of our horses having strayed to considerable distances; but I spent my time in botanizing, and found two specimens of *Rosa*, a new *Ribes*, and some other things. We took our course due West, towards the coast, passing over a pleasant undulating country, with rich soil, and beautiful solitary oaks and pines scattered here and there. The ground, however, being burned up; not a single blade of grass, except on the margins of rivulets, is to be seen.

28th.—Mr. McLeod joined us here, and brought an Indian guide from the coast, South of the country inhabited by the Killeemucks. Our hunters were very unfortunate in the chase, and, though nine deer were seen in one groupe, the animals were so shy, and kept so close in the thicket, that no fresh meat could be procured. The next day (Thursday) one was killed by a hunter with his rifle, two hundred yards distant. The ball entered the left shoulder and passed through the neck on the opposite side, yet the animal ran nearly a quarter of a mile before she fell.

Proceeded in the same kind of way, seeing little worthy of note for two or three days. Deer were scarce, and the custom of burning the soil is highly unfavourable to botanizing. This plan prevails every where, though the natives vary in their accounts of the reason for which it is done, some saying that it is in order to compel the deer to feed in the unburnt spots, where they are easily detected and killed; others, that the object is, to enable

them to find wild honey and grasshoppers, both of which serve for their winter food.

Sunday, October 1st.—Very heavy dew during the night, but the day clear and pleasant, with generally a refreshing westerly wind. I observed some trees of *Arbutus laurifolia* much larger than I had ever before seen — fifteen inches to two feet in diameter, and thirty to forty-five feet high, with fruit nearly ripe: they seem to thrive best in a deep rich black loam near springs, and on a gravelly bottom. Passed at noon some Indians digging the roots of *Phalangium Quamash*. On such journeys as these, I am sorry to say that Sunday is only known by the men changing their linen, while such as can read peruse in the evening some religious tract, the tenets of which, generally speaking, are agreeable to the tenets of the church of Rome. In the dusk I saw a very large Grisly Bear (*Ursus ferox*) enter a low hummock of brushwood at some little distance, but it was becoming so dark that I thought it better to leave him unmolested; and though I went in search of the animal next morning by daylight, I could find nothing of him.

2d to the 7th.—During this period little occurred worthy of note; we generally walked about twenty miles a day, and fared scantily, finding the deer very scarce and shy. At noon of this day (7th) we were joined by J. Baptiste McKay and two Iroquois; he informs me that he has already given one of his hunters who went to the Umptqua or Arguilar River, orders to bring home cones of the large pine for me. *Pinus resinosa* here attains a height of one hundred and thirty feet, and a diameter of four or five. On one of these trees I killed a beautiful *Grey Squirrel*, measuring two feet from tail to snout, and saw a curious striped variety, and also a flying squirrel, but could not secure either of these. *Typha angustifolia* and *Nymphæa advena* are not uncommon in small lakes. We

saw Mount Jefferson of Lewis and Clarke about twenty or thirty miles distant, covered with snow for a considerable part of its height. I bargained with McKay for the skin of a large female *Grisly Bear*, which he had killed seven days before, and obtained it for a small old blanket and a little tobacco. I mean to use it as an under robe to lie upon, as the cold dew from the grass is very prejudicial to my health. If possible, he will obtain a male of the same kind for me as a match.

One of our hunters, J. Kennedy, had a most narrow escape this morning from a male *Grisly Bear*, which he did not perceive till it had come within a few yards of him. Finding it impossible to outrun the animal, and his rifle missing fire, Kennedy sprang up a small oak which chanced to be near; the bear was so close behind that he seized him by one paw on the back and the other under the right arm, but fortunately his clothing was so old that it gave way, or he must have perished. Blanket, coat and trousers were torn almost to rags. This kind of bear can not climb trees. Our hunters all turned out to seek for the beast, but could not meet with it, though such a supply of food would have been most acceptable. Our last fragments of meat were cooked last night, and gave us a very scanty supper; this morning a small deer enabled us to obtain some breakfast. Thus we live literally from hand to mouth, the hunters all declaring that they never knew the animals of all kinds to be so scarce and shy, which is attributable to the great extent of country that has been burned.

Monday, the 9th—A small *Elk* was killed to-day, after receiving eleven shots, it weighed about 500 pounds, but was lean and tough. The horns of this species are very large, thirty-three inches between the tips, with five prongs on each, all inclining forward, the largest three feet all but one inch long; body of an uniform brown, with a

black mane four inches long. I am pretty certain that this is the same sort of animal that I have seen at the Duke of Devonshire's, and unquestionably a very distinct species from the European Stag. I ascended a low hill, about two thousand five hundred feet above its platform, the lower part covered with trees of enormous size, and the same sorts as on the Columbia. On the summit are only low shrubs, small oaks and a species of *Castanea*. This fine species I first took for a *Shepherdia*, as it was only shrubby in growth, but I shortly found it on the mountains, growing sixty to one hundred feet high, and with a diameter of three to five feet. The leaves of this tree (*Castanea chrysophylla*), give quite a peculiar and lovely tint to the landscape. The fruit seems extremely rare, as I only saw it on a single tree, and that growing on the very summit of the mountain. Under its shade is a fine evergreen shrub, new to me, apparently a *Clethra*. Here, too, *Pinus resinosa* grows immensely large, two hundred and fifty feet high and fifty-five feet in circumference. *Arbutus Menziesii* and *laurifolia* are abundant, but their fruit is almost all taken away by the bears. Two species of *Caprifolium*, that I never saw before, grew here. My feet are very sore with walking over the burnt and decayed stumps, and struggling through the thick undergrowth of *Pteris Aquilina* and *Rubus suberectus*, which are bound together with several decayed species of *Vicia*.

Friday, the 13th, to Monday, the 16th—For the last few days our progress has been much retarded by rain and heavy fog. The difficulty of proceeding becomes greater and greater in consequence, for the poor horses slip their footing continually and get bad falls; and to ensure the safety of my collections, I carry them on my back, tied in a Bear's skin. We have passed three ridges of mountains, about two thousand seven hundred feet high, Mr. McLeod and I taking the lead, and chopping off, with the help of

Baptiste McKay and two Indians, the branches of trees which impede our progress. The numerous trunks of fallen Pines are of almost incredible size, often measuring two hundred and fifty feet. A tree, apparently belonging to *Myrtaceæ*, struck me much: its leaves, wood, fruit, and bark, are all aromatic, smelling like *Myrtus Pimento*, and producing sneezing like pepper. The fruit is large, globular, and covered with a fine thin green skin, enveloping a small nut with an insipid kernel, which appears to be the favourite food of squirrels. I trust this fine tree will ere long become an inmate of English gardens, and may even be useful in medicine, and afford a perfume. It is *Laurus regia*.

Want of food, and the difficulty of making our way along, renders this journey most exhausting. We were somewhat cheered at seeing the Umptqua River rolling along below us, when we reached the summit of a weary ridge of mountains to-day. The stock of food being quite done, Mr. McLeod and McKay went out to shoot, while I employed myself in chopping wood, kindling the fire, and forming our encampment; and after twilight refreshed myself by bathing in the Umptqua. Our distance from the ocean could not exceed thirty or thirty-five miles, as I observed *Menziesii ferruginea* (Bot. Mag. t. 1571), and *Pinus Canadensis*, both of which always keep along the skirts of the sea. The poor horses are so fatigued that it is found impracticable to bring them up to-night, and mine being among the laggards, I can not lie down, as I have nothing whatever to spread beneath me, my blanket and bearskin being among the luggage on the horse's back. Mr. McLeod returned unsuccessful, so that we were both supperless; but he hopes that a large doe, which though wounded, yet managed to elude his search at night, may still be found to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, the 17th.—Last night sat by the fire till two o'clock, when Mr. McLeod most kindly insisted on giving me his own blanket and buffalo robe to lie down upon, while he took a turn of sitting up, wrapped in a great coat. We all three went out to seek for the wounded doe, and found her with a ball that had pierced both shoulders; still, another shot was necessary to despatch her. McKay having also brought down a fine buck, weighing 190 pounds, we returned to the camp in high spirits, and made a comfortable meal on the excellent venison these animals afforded. Our horses did not arrive till four o'clock, and in a very exhausted condition. The luggage which mine carried was almost destroyed by the poor beast's repeated falls; the tin box containing my notebook bruised quite out of shape, its sides bent together—a small case of preserving-powder quite spoiled,—and my only shirt reduced, by the chafing, to the state of surgeon's lint. I congratulated myself exceedingly on not having trusted my papers of plants to the same conveyance, but carried them on my back. The country towards the upper part of the river appears to be more varied and mountainous, and may, perhaps, afford me the much-wished-for Pine, as it certainly considerably resembles the spot described to me by the Indian in whose smoking-pouch I last year found some of its large scales. If the morning proves fine, and any provision has been killed, I intend to start to-morrow for a few days' excursion in that direction, Baptiste McKay having given me one of his Indian hunters, a young man about eighteen years of age, as a guide. To what nation he belongs he does not know, as he was brought from the South by a war party when a child, and kept as a slave till McKay took him. He is very fond of this mode of life, and has no desire to return to his Indian relations, and as he speaks a few words of Chenook and understands

the Umptqua tongue, I trust to find no difficulty in conversing with this my only companion.

Wednesday, the 18th.—I set off this morning, proceeding due south, and crossed the river five miles from an encampment of Indians, where there were two lodges and about twenty-five souls, mostly women, the wives of Centrenose, who is chief of the tribe inhabiting the upper part of the Umptqua River. They very courteously brought me a large canoe, in which I embarked, and swam the horses at the stern, holding their bridles in my hand. My guide proving less conversant with the language of the people than I had expected, my intercourse with these Indians was but limited. They gave me nuts of *Corylus*, with the roots of *Quamash*, and a sort of meal prepared from the roots of a Syngenesious plant already in my possession, mixed with the roasted and pulverized nuts of the Myrtaceous tree before mentioned. A decoction of the leaves and tender shoots of this tree is by no means an unpalatable beverage.

Soon after a herd of small deer sprang off before me, and I shot a female through the vertebræ, when she instantly dropped. Since leaving Fort Vancouver, I have often seen these creatures run several hundred yards before falling, after a ball has gone through the heart. No fording place appearing here, nor for a considerable distance, I began making a raft, which blistered my hands fearfully, and proved, after all, too small; so that I closed the day's toil by kindling a fire and roasting some of my venison for supper.

Thursday, the 19th.—Finding my hands in such a state that I could not proceed with my raft, I wrote a note to Mr. McLeod, then nine miles distant, informing him of my situation, and sent it by my Indian guide, during whose absence I took my gun and went out to the chase. I soon after wounded a very large buck, but in the eager-

ness of pursuit, fell into a deep gully among a quantity of dead wood, and lay there stunned, as I found by watch when I recovered, nearly five hours, when five Indians of the Callipoosie tribe helped to extricate me. A severe pain in the chest quite disabled me, and I found my only plan was to regain the camp as fast as possible, my Indian friends lending a hand to saddle my horse and assist me to mount it. It gave me more pleasure than I can describe to have some excellent provision left, with which I could recompense these friendly savages for their timely aid. After expressing my gratitude in the best way I could, I endeavoured to creep along with the help of my stick and gun, but was thankful to meet with John Kennedy, whom Mr. McLeod had kindly despatched to render me assistance, and who accompanied me to the camp, where a little tea considerably revived me. I also bled myself in the left foot, and felt much better. Several deer have been killed since my departure.

Friday, the 20th.—Much better, only stiff and sore, as if from carrying a heavy load; proceeded slowly about ten miles, but was much fatigued. On Saturday fell in with several Indians, accompanied by their chief, who gave us a large number of very fine Salmon-trout, three feet and a half long, of excellent quality, and taken by the spear, as netting is here unknown.

Sunday, the 22d.—Little worthy of note occurred. Our Indian friends brought us more fish, and a very large *Black-tailed Deer* (*Cervus macrotis*) was brought down by Mr. McLeod's rifle. This is a grand animal, seldom seen further North than 47° N. lat., and one-fifth larger than the *Long White-tailed Deer*. It is often taken by a snare made of a species of *Iris* (*Iris tenax*, Bot. Mag. t. 3343), which, though no thicker than the little finger, is strong enough to secure the largest Buffalo and the Elk. The women of this tribe are all tattooed, chiefly over the lower

jaw in lines from ear to ear. This marking is considered a great addition to beauty. I doubt not that such a lady in London, particularly when in her full dress, of red and green earth applied to the upper part of her face, would prove, at least, an object of great attraction.

Mr. McLeod has been much engaged all day in making arrangements for his journey to the country South of this river, where one large and two small rivers are said to exist. While he is in that quarter, I purpose, if in health, to resume my route toward the head waters of the Umptqua, where I have no doubt many rarities may yet be found. Centrenose (the principal chief) came to our camp this afternoon, and with him Mr. McLeod means to make arrangements for my being accompanied either by him or some of his sons.

Monday, the 23d.—Mr. McLeod has made the desired arrangements, and while Centrenose goes with himself to the coast, one of his sons will accompany me in my researches, which are chiefly directed towards the discovery of the great *Pine* so frequently mentioned. The road being hilly, wooded, and difficult to travel, I declined the use of more horses than were absolutely needful, namely, one for my guide, and the other to carry my blanket and paper, and on which I could occasionally ride. Started at ten, and pursued the same course as I had taken four days ago; the Indians again behaving very civilly, putting me across the river in their canoes. By signs I made them understand my wishes, and they kindled a fire and brought me water, nuts, and roots of *Quamass*, with some fresh *Salmon-trout*, for which I repaid them with deer-flesh and tobacco, beads and rings. A scrubby *Lupine* grew on the banks of the river, nearly four feet high, but I could obtain no perfect specimens.

Tuesday, the 24th.—My new friends had, during the night, gone to a small Rapid on purpose to spear Trout for

me, and woke me this morning long ere daylight, to eat. Proceeded about nine miles near the river, through a district which the thick woods rendered fatiguing, and then climbed over a bare hill, three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and re-entered an almost impenetrable thicket. The rain fell in torrents. I ate the last bit of my deer-flesh, and with difficulty boiled a few ounces of rice; but as I am not sure of meeting with any Indians, so as to obtain fresh supplies, I mean to limit myself at present to one meal a day. Here I observed, climbing over trees, a species of *Vitis*, the only one I have ever seen West of the Rocky Mountains. I made seventeen miles to-day.

Wednesday, the 25th.—Last night was one of the most dreadful I ever witnessed, the rain falling in torrents, was accompanied by so much wind as made it impossible to keep up a fire; and to add to my miseries, the tent was blown about my ears, so that I lay till daylight, rolled in my wet blanket, on *Pteris aquilina*, with the drenched tent piled above me. Sleep was, of course, not to be procured; every few minutes the falling trees came down with a crash which seemed as if the earth was cleaving asunder, while the peals of thunder and vivid flashes of forked lightning produced such a sensation of terror as had never filled my mind before, for I had at no time experienced a storm under similar circumstances of loneliness and unprotected destitution. Even my poor horses were unable to endure it without craving, as it were, protection from their master, which they did, by cowering close to my side, hanging their heads upon me and neighing. Towards daylight the storm abated, and before sunrise the weather was clear, though very cold. I could not stir without making a fire and drying some of my clothes, every thing being soaked through, and I indulged myself with a pipe of tobacco, which was all I could afford. At

ten o'clock I started, still shivering with cold, though I had rubbed myself so hard with a handkerchief before the fire that I could no longer endure the pain. Shortly after, I was siezed with intense headache, pain in the stomach, giddiness, and dimness of sight. All my medicine being reduced to a few grains of calomel, I felt unwilling, without absolute necessity, to take to this last resource, and therefore threw myself into a violent perspiration by strong exercise, and felt somewhat relieved towards evening, before which time I arrived at three lodges of Indians, who gave me some fish. The food was such as I could hardly have eaten, if my destitution were less; still I was thankful for it, especially as the poor people had nothing else to offer me. The night being dry, I camped early, in order to dry the remaining part of my clothing.

Thursday, the 26th.—Weather dull, cold, and cloudy. When my friends in England are made acquainted with my travels, I fear they will think that I have told them nothing but my miseries. This may be very true; but I now know, as they may do also, if they choose to come here on such an expedition, that the objects of which I am in quest can not be obtained without labour, anxiety of mind, and no small risk of personal safety, of which latter statement my this day's adventures are an instance. I quitted my camp early in the morning, to survey the neighboring country, leaving my guide to take charge of the horses until my return in the evening, when I found that he had done as I wished, and in the interval dried some wet paper which I had desired him to put in order. About an hour's walk from my camp, I met an Indian, who on perceiving me, instantly strung his bow, placed on his left arm a sleeve of Raccoon skin, and stood on the defensive. Being quite satisfied that this conduct was prompted by fear and not by hostile intentions, the poor fellow having probably never seen such a being as myself

before, I laid my gun at my feet, on the ground, and waved my hand for him to come to me, which he did slowly and with great caution. I then made him place his bow and quiver of arrows beside my gun and striking a light gave him a smoke out of my own pipe, and a present of a few beads. With my pencil I made a rough sketch of the Cone and Pine tree which I wanted to obtain, and drew his attention to it, when he instantly pointed with his hand to the hills fifteen or twenty miles distant towards the South; and when I expressed my intention of going thither, cheerfully set about accompanying me. At mid-day I reached my long-wished-for Pines, and lost no time in examining them and endeavouring to collect specimens and seeds. New and strange things seldom fail to make strong impressions, and are therefore frequently overrated; so that lest I should never again see my friends in England to inform them verbally of this most beautiful and immensely grand tree, I shall here state the dimensions of the largest that I could find among several that had been blown down by the wind. At three feet from the ground its circumference is 57 feet 9 inches; at one hundred and thirty-four feet, 17 feet 5 inches; the extreme length 245 feet. The trunks are uncommonly straight, and the bark remarkably smooth, for such large timber, of whitish or light-brown colour, and yielding a great quantity of bright amber gum. The tallest stems are generally unbranched for two-thirds of the height of the tree; the branches rather pendulous, with cones hanging from their points like sugar-loaves in a grocer's shop. These cones are, however, only seen on the loftiest trees, and the putting myself in possession of three of these (all I could obtain) nearly brought my life to a close. As it was impossible either to climb the tree or hew it down, I endeavoured to knock off the the cones by firing at them with ball, when the report of my gun brought eight In-

dians, all of them painted with red earth, armed with bows, arrows, bone-tipped spears and flint-knives. They appeared anything but friendly. I endeavoured to explain to them what I wanted, and they seemed satisfied, and sat down to smoke, but presently I perceived one of them string his bow, and another sharpen his flint-knife with a pair of wooden pincers, and suspend it on the wrist of the right hand. Further testimony of their intentions was unnecessary. To save myself by flight was impossible, so without hesitation I stepped back about five paces, cocked my gun, drew one of the pistols out of my belt, and holding it in my left hand and the gun in my right, showed myself determined to fight for my life. As much as possible I endeavoured to preserve my coolness, and thus we stood looking at one another without making any movement or uttering a word for perhaps ten minutes, when one, at last, who seemed the leader, gave a sign that they wished for some tobacco: this I signified that they should have, if they fetched me a quantity of cones. They went off immediately in search of them, and no sooner were they all out of sight, than I picked up my three cones and some twigs of the trees, and made the quickest possible retreat, hurrying back to camp, which I reached before dusk. The Indian who last undertook to be my guide to the trees, I sent off before gaining my encampment, lest he should betray me. How irksome is the darkness of night to one under my present circumstances! I can not speak a word to the guide, nor have I a book to divert my thoughts, which are continually occupied with the dread lest the hostile Indians should trace me hither, and make an attack; I now write lying on the grass, with my gun cocked beside me, and penning these lines by the light of my *Columbian Candle*, namely an ignited piece of rosiny wood.—To return to the tree which nearly cost me so dear: The wood is remarkably fine-grained and heavy; the

leaves short and bright-green, inserted, five together, in a very short sheath ; of my three cones one measures fourteen inches and a half, and the two others are respectively half an inch and an inch shorter, all full of fine seed. A little before this time of year the Indians gather the cones and roast them on the embers, then quarter them and shake out the seeds, which are afterwards thoroughly dried and pounded into a sort of flour, or else eaten whole.

Friday, the 27th.—My last guide went out at midnight in search of trout, and brought me home a small one, which served for breakfast. Two hours before daylight he rushed in with great marks of terror, uttering a shriek which made me spring to my feet, as I concluded that my enemies of yesterday had tracked out my retreat. He, however, gave me to understand, by gesture, that he had been attacked by a Grisly Bear. I signed to him wait till daylight, when I would go out and look for and perhaps kill the creature. A little before sunrise Bruin had the boldness to pay us a visit, accompanied by two cubs, one of last year's brood and one of this; but as I could not, consistently with safety, receive these guests before daylight, I had all my articles deposited in the saddle-bags, and driven upon one horse to a mile distant from the camp, when I returned, mounted on the animal Mr. McLoughlin had given me, and which stands fire remarkably well, and found the bear and her two young ones feeding on acorns under the shade of a large oak. I allowed the horse to walk to within twenty yards, when all three stood up and growled at me. I levelled my gun at the heart of the old one, but as she was protecting her young by keeping them right under her, the shot entered the palate of one of these, coming out at the back of the head, when it instantly fell. A second shot hit the mother on the chest, as she stood up with the remaining cub under her belly, on which abandoning it, she fled to an adjoin-

ing hummock of wood. The wound must have been mortal, as these animals never leave their cubs until they are themselves on the point of sinking. With the carcass of the young bear, I paid my last guide, who seemed highly to prize the reward, and then abandoned the chase, deeming it only prudent, after what happened yesterday, to retrace my steps towards the camp of my friends. So I returned, crossing the river two miles lower down than formerly, and halted at night in a low point of wood near a small stream.

Saturday and Sunday, the 28th and 29th.—Both these days being very rainy, as yesterday also was, and having very little clothing, I made all the exertion in my power to reach Mr. McLeod's encampment near the sea. It was impossible to keep myself dry, and the poor horses so fatigued that I was obliged to walk all the way and lead my own by the bridle, the road becoming continually worse and worse from the floods of rain. On Saturday night I halted at my second crossing place, but could procure no food from the Indians, the bad weather having so swollen the river as to prevent their fishing. I boiled the last of my rice for supper, which gave but a scanty meal, and resuming my march the next day, proceeded pretty well, till, reaching the wooded top of the lofty river bank, my jaded horse stumbled and rolling down descended the whole depth, over dead wood and large stones, and would infallibly have been dashed to pieces in the river below, had he not been arrested by getting himself wedged fast between two large trees that were lying across one another near the bottom. I hurried down after him, and tying his legs and head close down, to prevent his struggling, cut with my hatchet through one of the trees, and set the poor beast at liberty. I felt a great deal on this occasion, as the horse had been Mr. McLoughlin's present to me, and was his own favourite animal. Reached

the camp at dusk, where I found only Michel La Framboise, our Chenook interpreter, and an Indian boy, who told me that the savages had been very troublesome ever since our brigade of hunters left him some days before. The former kindly assisted me to pitch my tent, and gave me a little weak spirits and water, with a basin of tea, made from some that he had brought from Fort Vancouver, and which greatly refreshed me. Rain very heavy.

Monday, the 30th.—Last night, about ten o'clock, several Indians were seen round our camp, all armed. Of course, instead of sleeping, we had to watch; we then made a large fire, and leaving the camp, hid ourselves in the grass, at a little distance, to watch their movements. An hour and a half before day, a party of fifteen passed near where we were, crawling among the grass towards our fire. We immediately fired blank shot and scared them away; then returned to the camp and breakfasted on some tea and a little dried salmon, and as I had not had a thread of dry clothes upon me for some days, and the rain still continued, I sat within my tent, with a small fire before the door the whole day.

Tuesday, the 31st.—Heavy showers, accompanied by a Northwest wind, blowing off the ocean, which renders the air excessively cold and raw. Brought in wood this morning for fuel, and branches of Pine and *Pteris aquilina* (the bracken of my native land) for bedding. At noon an Indian, who had undertaken to guide two of the hunters to a small lake about twenty or thirty miles distant, returned to our camp, wearing one of their coats, and having in his possession some of their hunting implements. All this looks very suspicious, but as we know nothing of his language, and are too few to risk coming to a quarrel, surrounded as we are by foes, we take, at present, no notice, hoping, too, that he may only have robbed and not murdered our poor countrymen. We continue our watch, and

in the anxiety and fatigue, find myself far from well, and very weak. The night, however, passed off quietly.

November 1st, Wednesday.—Heavy rain. At two in the afternoon Baptiste McKay returned from the coast; such bad weather, he says, he never experienced. The tribes, too, are so hostile, that one of his party has been killed, and an Indian woman, wife of one of our hunters, with five children, carried off; what became of them we have never been able to learn. It is a relief to find our little party becoming stronger, and the addition of McKay is peculiarly welcome, as he is so good a hunter that he will soon procure us fresh food.

Thursday, the 2d.—Our hopes from McKay's prowess are realized, he has brought home a fine doe of the *Long-tailed Deer*, and I gladly turned cook and soon prepared a large kettle full of excellent venison soup. Just as we were sitting down to eat, thirteen of the hunters arrived in five canoes, and of course we invited them to partake. This evening has passed much more comfortably than the eleven preceding ones, and although the society may be somewhat uncouth, still the sight of a visage of one's own colour is pleasing, after being so long among Indians. We have all been entertaining one another, in turns, with accounts of our chase, and other adventures, and I find that I stand high among them as a workman, and passable as a hunter.

Friday, the 3d.—Early this morning made a trip of about twelve miles in hopes of meeting Mr. McLeod, who is daily expected. My course lay along the river banks, which are steep and woody, the stream averaging seven to eight hundred yards wide, with a fall of four feet, owing to the tide, which runs thirty miles up the river from the sea. Collected a fine shrub, with abundant racemes and red juicy berries; also *Vaccinium ovatum* (Bot. Reg. t. 1354), loaded with fruit. The former is not

eaten, but the latter is pleasantly acid, and much used by the Killeemuck Indians, as is also another species of *Vaccinium*, that I never saw before.

Saturday, the 4th.—Late last night we were joined by Mr. McLeod, who has been a good way to the southward. He informs me that this river, the Umptqua or Arguilar, is three-fourths of a mile broad, where it flows into the sea, but that a sand-bar, which crosses the mouth, renders it impassable for shipping. Twenty-three miles further South, is another river of similar size, and affording the same sort of salmon and salmon-trout. At its mouth are numerous bays, and the surrounding country is less mountainous than the north; and twenty miles further still, is yet another river, but smaller than the two preceding, deriving its source, according to the Indians' account, very far up the interior. Here McLeod's investigation has ceased for the present, as he waits till all his party is collected, before proceeding further. The Indians state that sixty miles to the southward, where the Indians are very numerous, a much larger river surpassing, as one stated who had seen both streams, the Columbia in size, gains the ocean. The latitude is about 41° North. Mr. McLeod observed that the vegetation changed materially as he proceeded to the South, the Pines disappearing altogether and giving place to the myrtaceous tree which I have described, of which he measured several individuals 12 feet round, and 70 to 100 feet high. Its fragrant leaves, when shaken by the least breeze of wind, diffuse a fragrance through the whole grove. All the natives, like those in this neighborhood, had never seen white men before, and viewed them narrowly, and with great curiosity. They were kind and hospitable in the extreme, assisting to kindle the fire and make the encampment; while they were delighted beyond measure at being paid with a ring, button, bead, or any the small-

est trifle of European manufacture. They have the same garments and dwellings as the people here. As Mr. McLeod tells me that two of his men are going to Fort Vancouver with a despatch on Monday, I mean to accompany them, the weather being such as to prevent my botanizing to any advantage; besides, it is doubtful whether there will be any other opportunity of my returning thither before the beginning of March, when I mean to start for the opposite side of the Continent. Thus I have made up my mind to return, and can only express the gratitude I feel toward Mr. McLeod for all the kindness and assistance received from this gentleman.¹

Tuesday, 5th to the 7th.—All my goods have been packed for two days, but the heavy rain detains me. As, however, the weather at this season may probably become worse instead of better, I am determined to wait no longer. Started at ten A. M., with John Kennedy, an Irishman, and Fannaux, a Canadian. Mr. McLeod kindly expressed much regret at seeing me depart with a very slender stock of provisions, and that none of the best: a few dried salmon-trout, purchased of the Indians, and a small quantity of Indian corn and rice mixed together, which we had brought from Fort Vancouver; in all, a week's food for three persons. But at this season, I trust there is little to be feared, as we may hope to shoot deer or wild fowl. The late rains rendering the river impassable for loaded horses, we sent our luggage in three small canoes, and camped up the river near the lodges of some Indians, from whom we obtained a small quantity of trout.

Wednesday, the 8th.—Made little progress, the road being dreadfully bad, and the horses much exhausted with fatigue and poor fare, as there was hardly any grass.

¹A memorandum in poor Douglas' handwriting in the margin of his journal at this place is, "Remember, on arriving in London, to get him a good rifle-gun as a present."

Twelve days of extreme misery, during which we travelled with great labour, under all the disadvantages of hunger, cold, and rain, brought me back to the Columbia, where I arrived much disheartened in consequence of having lost nearly the whole of my collections when crossing the River Sandiam, one of the tributaries of the Multnomak. On reaching the Fort, I had the satisfaction of finding comfortable letters from my friends in England. Here I staid till the 9th of December, when the hope of replacing some of the objects which I had lost, induced me to revisit the coast; but this was a still more unfortunate undertaking than the first, as I had the disaster to be wrecked in my canoe, and returned home sick from the effects of wet and cold, having added nothing to my collection but one new species of *Ledum L. dealbatum*.² From this date to the 6th of March I spent my time in the same way as the preceding winter, when I once more visited the sea and was again driven back by bad weather, having failed for the third and last time. The remainder of my time on the coast was spent in packing up my collections.

²No such plant appears in the collection, nor is it described in Mr. Douglas' MSS.

REVIEWS.

From the West to the West. Across the Plains to Oregon.

By ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1905. pp. XII, 311.)

"The events of pioneer life, which form the groundwork of this story," says the author, "are woven into a composite whole by memory and imagination. . . . The story, nevertheless, is true to life and border history; . . ."

The theme is one that possesses a peculiar interest to the people of the Pacific Northwest, who rightly regard the crossing of the continent by the emigrant trains of half a century ago as the fundamental fact of the early history of the region. Any book, poem, or other literary production based upon incidents connected with "crossing the plains" is sure to be warmly welcomed by an Oregon public.

The book before us has some claim to recognition on more general grounds. The author has the true spirit of the West—of the frontier—with whose people she is in heartiest sympathy; and she understands full well that the West in American history is more a set of conditions than a place or geographical section of the country. There is, therefore, a cosmopolitanism in her westernism that adds materially to the value of the book. Some of her most charming passages relate to life in northern Illinois under primitive conditions in those settlements. The log schoolhouse, its rude architecture and equipment, and the instruction imparted within its walls by the typical "Irish" schoolmaster; the singing school; the school of metrical geography, and the campmeeting, have rarely been so well portrayed within a brief space. In this and other respects the book will have a place among the descriptive works bearing upon the history of the middle West.

Yet the author's great achievement lies in another field. She has produced an account of "crossing the plains" that is unique in many respects. The book is, so far as I know, the first professed novel whose scene is the "Oregon Trail." And in writing it Mrs. Duniway was apparently more concerned to make the historical facts stand out in perfect clearness than she was to make the book square in all particulars with the canons of the novelist's art. The things that leave their impress upon the reader's mind are such as the following: the motives inducing men in the prime of life or young manhood to undertake the journey to Oregon fifty years ago; the hardship, especially to the women, in parting with aged parents who must be left behind;

the sufferings of emigrants on the route: the strength, the resourcefulness, the essential hopefulness and idealism of the true American pioneer (qualities so admirably illustrated by the character of John Ranger, known to be Mr. Scott, the author's father). These are not lost sight of in all the windings of the story, however much imagination or pure fancy may have had to do with fitting it to the tastes of readers of light literature. The volume is not a history; but it throws many sidelights upon Northwestern history, helping us to realize the past of this region in such a way as to make it easier to idealize it. Herein lies its peculiar value.

It is also to be regarded as a legacy from an honored woman of an earlier generation, 'round whom "Life's twilight's shadows" are falling, to the young women and men of to-day. Whether or not they agree with the author on social and political questions, which she could not resist the temptation to discuss in these pages, they can not but receive benefit from reading this interesting book. J. S.

THE SOCIETY'S ACTIVITIES.

In this department different lines of the Society's work will be noted from quarter to quarter.

ACCESSIONS.

For quarter ending March 31, 1905.

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 — June 30, 1904. Cloth. 8vo. 522 pp.

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Overland to Oregon, 1843. By Edward Henry Lenox. 8vo. Cloth. Ill. 69 pp.

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(The two preceding vols. presented by Jos. Dobbins, Quincy, Oregon.)

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Six Sermons on Intemperance. By Rev. Lyman Beecher. New York, 1827. Owned by Thomas C. Shaw, a pioneer of 1844. Has his autograph. 32mo. Cloth. 104 pp.

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Bible, with Psalms of David in Metre. Edinburgh, 1758. 32mo. Leather. Mutilated. Inscribed "Agness Burnie is the owner of this Bible, Anno Domino, 1773."

Bible. New York, 1848. 32mo. Morocco. Inscribed "Presented to the Rev. John Rigdon, late of the Christian Church of Louisa County, Iowa, now Missionary to Oregon Territory, by the Young Men of Columbus City, Iowa, Sunday, March 4, 1852." Donated by his daughter, Mrs. Phebe Ellen Parker, Goshen, Oregon.

Bible. In German. Tr. by Martin Luther. Printed in Wittemberg, 1626, by Samuel Selfisch's Sons. Large quarto, heavy wooden boards 3-16 thick. Full leather ornately stamped. Copiously Illustrated. Family record on flyleaf, 1698 to 1737.

Prayer Book. German. Frankfort, 1679. Title p. in 2 colors. 24mo. Leather. (Last two books loaned by John Jessen).

Bible. English. Oxford, 1769. Small quarto. Loaned by Mrs. E. B. Porter, Portland.

Adventures of James Capen Adams, The, Mountaineer and Grizzly Bear Hunter of California. By Theodore H. Hittell. San Francisco, 1860. 12mo. Cloth. Illustrated. 378 pp.

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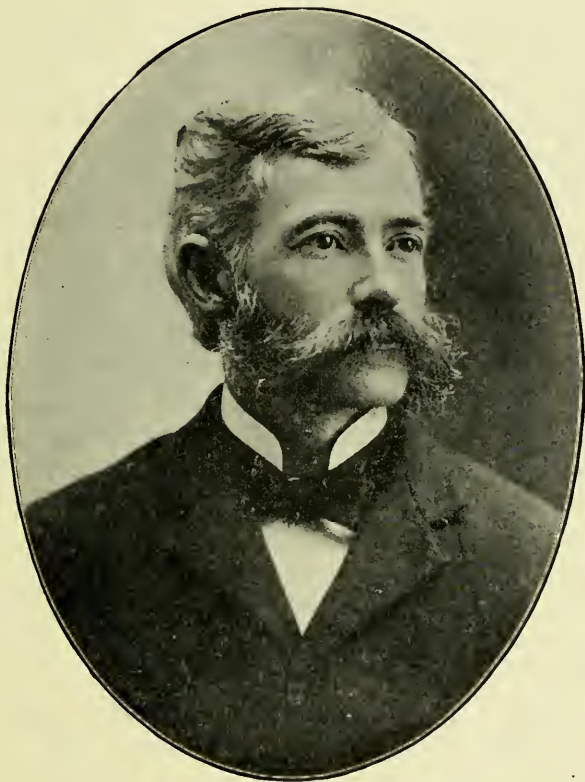
Partlow, J. W., Oregon City, coins as follows: English penny, 1861; Canadian cent, 1876; Canadian 25-cent piece, 1874; 3-cent pieces, 1852, 1865, 1870; 5-cent pieces, 1850, 1857, 1863; 1 cent, 1863; 20 cents, 1875.

Lieberman, Albert S., Duluth, Minn.: 15 Danish coins from 1798 to 1901.

From miscellaneous sources: one quarter Anna, India, 1892; Canadian one cent, 1903; 10 öre, Denmark, 1894; 5 centimes, 1861; 2 pfenning, 1875; copper cents, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1862, 1863, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904; one cent 1835; 2 cents, 1857; silver coin, Spanish, 1825; $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2, 5, and 10 sen, Japanese; one thaler, 1820; 5 pennia, 1889; English penny, 1881; half dollar, 1807—the words "half dollar" on edge of coin; 50 pennia, 1889; Spanish centimos, 1879; skilling danske, 1771; Hong Kong cent (English), 1879; peculiar silver coin, size of a dollar, 1824, found in a garden at Harrisburg, Oregon; Spanish coin, Carolus III., dei gratia, 1776; Canadian 5-cent, 1896; Spanish coin, Carolus III., 1787; 2 pfenning, 1875; coin of Republica La Bogota, 1825; 5 centimes, 1861; English halfpenny, 1902; penny, 1903; one mil, Hong Kong, 1865; English copper coin, 1780; Hawaiian coin, hapa haneri, 1847; Medallion, General Grant, 1868; Medallion, Myles Coverdale, struck "to commemorate that glorious event, the publication of the First English Bible by Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, Oct. 4, 1535, and the third centenary of the Reformation Oct. 4, 1835"; 3-cent, 1859, 1866; 10-cent, 1858; nickel, 1867.

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HORACE S. LYMAN.



Horace Sumner Lyman was born on a farm near Dallas, Polk County, Oregon, on December 18, 1855. His father was Horace Lyman of an old Massachusetts family. His mother, Mary Denison Lyman, belonged to an equally old Vermont family of French Huguenot descent. Young Horace suffered from a malady in early childhood that left him so crippled that the use of crutches was necessary

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THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI.]

JUNE, 1905

[NUMBER 2

ORIGIN OF PACIFIC UNIVERSITY.

The establishment of an institution of learning in a community is of interest not only to those who have been directly connected with it in any capacity, but to all who appreciate at its true value the part which an institution of higher education plays among other forces in the development of a community.

The origin of Pacific University has a peculiar significance, in that it belongs to the beginning of educational activity on the Pacific Coast, and this justifies an attempt to make more familiar the steps leading to its establishment, the things for which it has stood, and the personalities connected with its origin and early history.

In explaining the origin of Pacific University it may be said that it was, in general, the outcome of those forces in American life which have been instrumental in starting educational institutions everywhere along the line of settlement as it has extended westward; more particularly the institution was the product of that religious and missionary zeal which has played so prominent a part in the development of the West; and most directly the institution owes its existence to a few sturdy and benevolent personalities who will always be known as its founders.

First among the founders of Pacific University must be mentioned Rev. Harvey Clark, the man who was first on the field and sowed the first seed that was eventually, after many changes, to mature into an institution of higher education. There is not much to be found in the form of written record concerning Mr. Clark, but his place in the community was a large one, if it is possible to judge from the traditions which have been handed down of his quiet yet beneficent influence. Mr. Clark was a native of Vermont and began his life as a stonemason. When he decided to seek a college education and study for the ministry his friends were inclined to oppose him, fearing that a good mason would be spoiled in the making of an indifferent minister. He was not to be turned from his purpose, however, and finally graduated from Oberlin College and was ordained to the ministry. It was his desire to give his life service to the West, and soon after his marriage he moved to Independence, Missouri, where he engaged in preaching and teaching until 1840, when he started for Oregon. The life of a missionary appealed to him, and, like most of his early associates, he intended to work among the natives in a foreign field. He was not the representative of any of the societies, but came independently, relying upon his own efforts for support. He located on a claim of land near the present site of Hillsboro and engaged in the work of farming, preaching, and teaching. Somewhere near the present site of Glencoe he established a school, which was the first to be established on the Tualatin Plain and one of the earliest in Oregon. Like those early schools it was for the children of the In-

NOTE.—The authorities for statements in this paper are mainly the following: Trustee Records; College Catalogues; Conversations with Alanson Hinman, trustee since 1853; papers of S. H. Marsh; Life of Doctor Atkinson, prepared by Myron Eells under direction of Mrs. Warren, daughter of Doctor Atkinson; Manuscript History of Pacific University, prepared by Myron Eells at request of Alumni Association; Conversations with early graduates; Addresses and newspaper articles made on various occasions.

dians and of mixed blood, of whom there were coming to be many on account of the policy of intermarriage with the natives, encouraged during the period of the fur trade. Admission to this school was free, and it seems to have been notable on that account. In 1845 Mr. Clark removed to the present site of Forest Grove, where he had received a call to become pastor of the Congregational Church, one of the earliest churches in Oregon and on the Pacific Coast. A log church was erected and he secured a tract of land on which a log cabin was built for his residence, which was standing until about ten years ago. The sites of this church and of his residence are correctly identified, and are historic spots to be cherished by those interested in Oregon history. Here he engaged in the occupations of farming, preaching, and teaching as in his previous home. He seems from an early date to have entertained a purpose of founding a school and was continually on the watch for a favorable opportunity. Mr. Clark was one of those men who belong to pioneer life. He had come to set in motion forces and build institutions where there had been none before. The idea of a school was incarnated in him and came into being from his very presence.

The second personality that should be mentioned in connection with the establishment of a school on the Tualatin Plain was Mrs. Tabitha M. Brown, who first came to Oregon in 1846. Mrs. Brown was of New England descent, the daughter of Doctor Moffett, a physician of Brimfield, Massachusetts. Her husband, Rev. Clark Brown, had died early in life, leaving to her care three sons. For some years she taught school in Maryland and Virginia to earn a livelihood and then removed to Missouri, where she believed the opportunities were better. Here she engaged in teaching the children of the settlers, although no school was the outcome of her work so far as known. Her thoughts were turned to Oregon in 1846 and in company with a son who

had been to Oregon in 1843 and was returning, an aged brother-in-law, and a party of emigrants, she started on the long journey at the age of sixty-six years. Eager to reach her destination she yielded, with others, to the representations of an unknown guide who promised to show a shorter route than the one down the Columbia Valley. From a letter written to her friends in the East, in 1854, we are able to learn of the trials she was compelled to endure before finally reaching her destination. The account is indeed a graphic one and deserves to live as one representative of pioneer experiences. She was obliged to cross stretches of country sixty miles in width where there was neither grass nor water. There were mountains to be crossed and the canyon of the Umpqua River to be passed before she could be even on the edge of the Willamette Valley. For several days she traversed that deadly gateway into her promised land and emerged alive but destitute of almost everything else. The picture of her arrival at the head waters of the Willamette is vivid indeed. In her letter she says, "Pause a moment and consider my situation. Worse than alone in a savage wilderness, without food, without fire, cold and shivering, wolves fighting and howling about me. The darkness of night forbade the stars to shine upon me; all was solitary as death. But that kind Providence that has ever been, was watching over me still. I committed my all to him and felt no fear." With the arrival of help from her son and others who had gone by the well-known route and anticipated her need, she was able after a journey of nine months to enter the homes of the Methodist missionaries near the present site of Salem. On her return from a trip to a mission station near the mouth of the Columbia River she found transportation to the Tualatin Plain where the son who had preceded her to Oregon was living. It was this visit which determined her future work in

Oregon. She was introduced to Mr. Clark and his wife, and being invited to spend the winter of 1846 and 1847 at their home, accepted. In the course of the visit she expressed, at one time, the wish to establish herself in a home of her own where she might receive the orphan children of those who perished in crossing the plains, be a mother to them all, and see that they were properly brought up and educated.

This was a wish which found ready response from her host, and thus from the blending of those two kindly personalities there came into being in 1847 what is known as the "Orphan Asylum." It was a school intended primarily for the children of unfortunate emigrants, but it came soon to be patronized by others. In 1848 the gold excitement occurred in California, and men whose wives had died left their children with Mrs. Brown. Here, too, came the children of the settlers who had selected claims in the fertile valley of the Tualatin River. The log church used by Mr. Clark served the purpose of a schoolhouse, and during the summer a boarding hall was built. The school was free to all who had not means to pay, but a charge was made to those who could afford it. There are some yet living who attended that school and remember distinctly its two kindly founders. Settlers rallied nobly around the enterprise and furnished from their own meager supplies the household utensils needed for the boarding hall. When the revenue was insufficient for supplies, Mr. Clark and other settlers generously furnished them. Teachers were secured from those coming in or from the missionaries who had been driven from their post in the eastern part of the Willamette Valley when increase of immigration stirred up the Indians to hostility. Among those early teachers are found the names of Rev. Lewis Thompson, of the Presbyterian denomination, William Geiger, a friend of Mr. Clark, later a prac-

ticing physician and until recently a resident of Forest Grove, and Miss Mary Johnson, of whom no record is found beyond the name, and there were probably others who assisted.

The orphan asylum was more than an idea; it was an institution. Something tangible had started. Something had come into being where before there was nothing. It was only the forerunner of what was to follow, but it served its purpose and it had its distinct bearing on subsequent events. It put at the foundation of Pacific University a splendid motive, which, to an institution that cherishes traditions, is worth a great deal. Furthermore, it determined the location of an institution at Forest Grove rather than at some other place, and served as a starting point for the more ambitious undertaking that soon followed.

The next step in the development of an institution was taken upon the arrival of a third personality into Oregon. In June of 1848 there landed at Oregon City, ready for a life-long service for Oregon in all that makes for good citizenship, Rev. George H. Atkinson. It is significant that he came not as missionary to a foreign field, but as the first representative of the Home Missionary Society, and as a representative to a section of the United States that in the same year received a territorial government, thus insuring American institutions and American ideals of life. The coming of Mr. Atkinson also marks the growing influence of emigration, for it had been at the request of a parish in Illinois, some of whose members had gone to Oregon, that petition had been made for a representative of the society which had been organized to lay moral foundations in the new West. It was significant, too, of the fact that the East was organizing to extend aid to the West, and to furnish conditions that would not have been realized for many years had it been necessary to await the

operation of the law of supply and demand. As Mr. Atkinson departed for his long journey and his distant field he had been charged by Rev. Theron Baldwin, Secretary of the Society for Promotion of College and Theological Education, to keep in mind the "founding of an Academy which should grow into a College." Thus new and strong forces were placed behind the modest and heroic beginning of Mr. Clark and Mrs. Brown, forces that reached back to the older civilization of the East and were destined to center, before long, complex influences upon the creation of an institution of higher education.

Mr. Atkinson, like his predecessors, was a native of New England, born at Newburyport, Massachusetts. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College and of Andover Theological Seminary. He had planned to enter the service of the American Board in Africa, but had been turned from his purpose almost by chance. Unlike Mr. Clark and Mrs. Brown he came to Oregon by water, thus avoiding the danger and hardship of a journey by land. With the exception of the time consumed, the journey was one of ease and of pleasure. The days were spent in reading books useful to him in his future work, in making friends among the passengers, in taking observations along the route, in religious work among the sailors, and in laying plans for the future good of Oregon. When he reached the Sandwich Islands, which were at that time the front door to Oregon for one coming by water, he learned of the massacre of Doctor Whitman and his associates, a cheerful introduction indeed to his new field. He was advised by his friends to relinquish his purpose of working in a place so dangerous as Oregon seemed to be. With a greater faith than his friends, however, he refused to turn back, and in June of 1848 landed at Oregon City.

It is probably true that the coming of no man previous to that of Mr. Atkinson meant so much for the future of

education in Oregon. He had acquainted himself with the newest ideas in education, and brought with him many of the most advanced text-books then in use. He was a friend of education in every form, and his influence was not greater in the development of religious schools than in furthering the introduction of the public school system when this was accomplished in Portland a few years later.

Mr. Atkinson was a man of great activity and at once set out to accomplish his purposes. He first established a school for girls at Oregon City, and then learning of the start already made on the Tualatin Plain, went there by horseback, determined to utilize everything that had already been done. From papers left by Mr. Atkinson we learn that in July of 1848 a conference was held at the log cabin of Mr. Clark, at which the following were present: Rev. George H. Atkinson, Rev. Harvey Clark, Rev. Lewis Thompson, Rev. H. H. Spalding, and Rev. Elkanah Walker. Various subjects of mutual interest were discussed, and it was resolved to establish an association of the ministers and churches of the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, and also to "found an Academy which should grow into a College." In September of the same year the first meeting of the association thus formed met at Oregon City, and among other items of business was the resolution passed expressing the belief "that it is expedient to found an Academy under our patronage." At the same meeting a board of trustees was selected, consisting of the following ministers and laymen: Rev. Harvey Clark, Rev. George H. Atkinson, Rev. Lewis Thompson, Hiram Clark, Peter Hatch, William H. Gray, Alvin T. Smith, James Moore, and O. Russell. Mr. Clark was chosen president of the board, and Rev. George H. Atkinson secretary. The members of this original board were all prominent settlers at Oregon City, Clatsop Plain, and Tualatin Plain.

Thus the "Orphan Asylum" gave place to a regularly organized academy with a board of trustees, and with a broader backing than those interested in the earlier enterprise of the settlers could have dared to hope for in so short a time. It is interesting to notice that at the time this action was taken at Oregon City there were only a few thousand inhabitants in the whole of the Oregon Country; the fur-trading period was just giving place to that of agricultural settlement, and with the exception of the "Oregon Institute," established by the Methodist missionaries near the present site of Salem, there was no school of the grade of an academy on the Pacific Coast.

For the institution thus started a charter was prepared by Mr. Clark and Mr. Atkinson. It was secured from the territorial legislature by J. Q. Thornton, who had been added to the board within the year to take the place of one of the original members who had removed. This charter was secured in 1849 and was the first charter to be granted by the civil government of Oregon. A copy may be seen in the Oregon archives. A study of this early charter is the best means of securing a knowledge of the purposes of the founders. The distinctly religious character of the school may be seen in the provisions requiring the Bible to be used as a text-book, with provision for morning and evening prayers, and in the provision requiring the trustees to be subscribers to the Westminster creed, a requirement that was soon changed to read "evangelical religion." The form of administration is seen in the provision for the creation of a board of trustees, which should be self-perpetuating, and an agent, who should have the direct management of the affairs of the school. The property of the school was limited to three hundred and twenty acres of land and a capital stock of \$40,000. The ultimate purpose and hope is seen in the provision making it possible for a collegiate department to be established whenever it

seemed feasible. In this provision for collegiate education it preceded all educational institutions on the Pacific Coast. It may be regarded as one of the acts of splendid audacity with which the student of western history becomes familiar.

The charter provided that the name of the institution should be "The President and Trustees of Tualatin Academy." The name Tualatin is from the Indian name of the river and the plain, which signifies a smooth and slowly flowing stream. Land for a campus was secured by gift from Mr. Clark and other settlers, and a tract covering the present site of Forest Grove was given by Mr. Clark for the purpose of securing an income. It was the plan of the founders that this should be platted into lots as the site of a town. The present name Forest Grove was given to the prospective town in 1851, in preference to the name Vernon, by the trustees of the academy. Care was taken that conditions favorable to a school community should exist by placing in the deeds a clause making the property revert to the institution in case ardent spirits were ever sold on the land forming this early property of the institution.

The school possessed no buildings of its own and the work was first carried on in the log building used by Mr. Clark as the Congregational Church. The first distinctive school building was that erected in 1851 which is still in use and was at that time considered a fine structure. It was erected at a cost of about \$7,000, of which the item of labor at \$8 to \$10 a day was an interesting item. There were many intermissions in the work of construction. The building was the cause of much sacrifice on the part of the early settlers and deserves to stand as a reminder to the later generations of the work of their fathers. The raising of the frame was celebrated in the true pioneer fashion as a festival occasion, and the campus was dotted

over with the white tents of the settlers, who came from near and far to participate. Many doubtless participated in the festivities and rallied around this enterprise who understood but little of the significance and perhaps were never able to enjoy many of the privileges to be derived there.

So far as the location was concerned there was little to be added in the way of natural environment. The campus was a spot of beauty, covered with a native growth of fine firs and oaks centuries old. The grass was dotted over with hundreds of varieties of wild flowers; the scenery in every direction was beautiful, with the blue hills of Coast range of mountains rising beyond the green plain of the Tualatin to the north and west; and to the east the snow-capped peaks of the Cascades. It was separated, however, from the other settlements of the Oregon Country and in a position of comparative isolation, a fault that only time could correct.

In the early history of Oregon permanent male teachers were difficult to secure outside of the missionaries, who were expected to be ready to serve in that capacity at any time as part of their work. In the early period it had been the profits of the fur trade that absorbed the interests of men. By the time of the founding of the academy it was the gold fever and the returns to be had from the rich agricultural lands or the mercantile opportunities. The first teacher to be secured by the academy was Mr. D. C. L. Latourette, a young man who had just come from the East. Mr. Latourette was a native of New York state and had come West to seek his fortune. He was well educated and gave promise of excellent service, but was unable to resist the allurements of the gold fields of California, and served only for part of a year. He returned later to reside in Oregon, identified himself with its development, and furnished two sons as students of the

academy and the college at a time when students were needed.

For his successor the trustees turned to the band of missionaries upon whom they could always depend and elected in March, 1849, Rev. Cushing Eells, as the record expresses it, "for the next term and onwards, Providence permitting." In the person of Mr. Eells the trustees had secured another of those New England characters who figured so prominently in the founding of Pacific University. Tracing his descent back to the Ironsides of Cromwell he united to high ideals of education and religion much of the Cromwellian discipline. Mr. Eells was born in Blandford, Massachusetts, and was a graduate of Williams College and Hartford Theological Seminary. Like Mr. Atkinson he had intended to enter the service of the American Board in Africa, but had been deterred on account of the unsettled conditions prevailing there. Mr. Eells was one of those missionaries who had located among the Indians of the eastern part of the Oregon Country and had not been hindered by Hudson Bay officials from occupying a dangerous field. He had stood by his post as long as it was possible, and then yielded more to the wishes of others than his own desires. Coming to the Willamette Valley he entered the service of the "Oregon Institute" as teacher where he was located, when induced to enter the service of the denominations with which he was affiliated. He remained as principal of the academy but one year, resigning because of his strict ideas of discipline in some of which he was not supported by the board of trustees. He engaged in farming in the neighborhood of Hillsboro until his recall to the academy at a later date, 1857, when he served a longer period, resigning at last in 1860 to return to the scene of his earlier endeavors. Here he was one who was prominent in laying the foundations of Whitman College.

For a year the principalship was held by Rev. D. R. Williams, a Congregational minister, who had recently come to Oregon from Massachusetts. He resigned to accept the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Salem and soon returned to the East, where he died the same year. The next principal was Mr. J. M. Keeler, who served until 1855. Mr. Keeler was later identified with the introduction of the public school system into Oregon and served as a teacher in Portland. He gradually drifted into other occupations and at the time of the civil war was United States marshal in Oregon.

Although the resources of the academy were meager the sexes were taught separately in different buildings and by different teachers. As teachers for the girls are to be found the names of Miss Mary Johnson, Miss Sarah Brawley, and Mrs. Eells. In 1851 Miss Elizabeth Miller, now Mrs. E. M. Wilson of The Dalles, served for the period of one year. From her youth Miss Miller had cherished a romantic interest in Oregon. The journal of Patrick Gass had come into the possession of her father and had so aroused his interest that he had eagerly sought for his library everything that was published on the subject. From the shelves of the library they came into the hands of the daughter who was thus made ready to go out as one of the teachers sent by Governor Slade of Vermont, an enthusiast in the cause of education for the growing West. Mrs. Wilson is the oldest living teacher of the institution, and at various times has visited the institution with whose earlier history she was connected. At one of the annual meetings of the Oregon Historical Society she read a paper embodying some of her recollections of the journey to Oregon and of her experiences on arriving. A paper read before the Alumni Association of Pacific University at a recent commencement exercise gave more fully her recollections of the early days in Tualatin Academy.

From 1848 to 1853 the institution aimed at nothing beyond the work of an academy. In fact, it had all it could do to continue as such. The problems connected with the securing of money, employment of teachers, and acquiring of equipment were often discussed with "feverish interest," as Mr. Atkinson expressed it. Trips were made back and forth between Oregon City, Portland, and Forest Grove by horseback, in lumber wagon, and on foot, regardless of weather or condition of roads. Conferences were prolonged far into the night and the early hours of morning. On one occasion it was actually resolved to discontinue the school, but the resolution had been heard through the cracks in the ceiling of the cabin by Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Brown, and they plead with the men to reverse it, with the result that the school was continued.

By 1852 the existence of the academy was assured and the purpose of extending the work had gained headway with the board of trustees. Doctor Atkinson started for the East in the interest of his work in 1852, and it was resolved to intrust to his care a representation of the school to the Society for the Promotion of College and Theological Education, whose secretary had in a measure been responsible for the enterprise in his farewell to Mr. Atkinson. Application was therefore made to be placed on the list of institutions to receive aid. An interval elapsed before the reply could be received, which Doctor Atkinson improved by an issue of circulars to the leading patrons of education in the East. Many prominent men were willing to indorse the undertaking and to allow the use of their names in that connection. Among those who rendered this important service are to be found such men as Rev. M. Badger and D. B. Coe, of the American Missionary Society; Revs. Richard S. Storrs, Henry Ward Beecher, Gardiner Spring, George B. Cheever, William Adams,

Thomas H. Skinner, Samuel H. Cox, and Edwin F. Hatfield, of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches; and Mark H. Newinan, Henry Iveson, and A. S. Barnes; among the publishers. Such indorsement was of the greatest value to the institution at a critical time and justified the hopes of the pioneer founders. The reply of the Society also was favorable when it was received. The institution was to be placed ninth on the list of those to receive aid and the salary of an additional teacher was guaranteed at once.

It was evidently the determination of the board, if this aid was secured, to move forward toward the use of collegiate powers. With much satisfaction Doctor Atkinson began the search for a man to fill the position thus created. The new man was not only to go West as a teacher, but as the founder of a college. The first man approached refused the offer, but suggested as one fit for the place Sidney Harper Marsh, at that time a student in the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He was considered especially fitted for the place, both because of his educational ancestry and also because of his apparent ability to cope with difficulties. Mr. Marsh was a native of Virginia, born at Sidney Hampton College, where his father, Rev. James Marsh, was professor. Later he removed to Vermont, where his father became president of the University of Vermont and professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy. Through his mother he was descended from President Wheelock, the first president of Dartmouth College. Mr. Marsh graduated from the University of Vermont and entered the Union Theological Seminary, where he was studying at the time of Doctor Atkinson's visit to the East. The offer of a position in the mild climate of Oregon came at an opportune time, as he had already been considering a removal to the Southern States on account of his delicate lungs. In a

letter to Doctor Atkinson in November of 1852 he wrote: "Under such circumstances, and considering the peculiar adaptedness of such a position to what I consider my powers of greatest usefulness, your letter seemed to me almost Providential, and I feel like assenting at once to what I understand you propose."

Mr. Marsh spent a year in special preparation for his new work and in gathering books for the library. He received much encouragement from prominent men in New York City and elsewhere, among whom his family connections gave him a standing that was of great value to the welfare of the institution whose interests he was henceforth to serve. It was in this connection that this remote educational venture first received the notice of the Eastern press, and in the issue of the *New York Times* for January 26, 1853, the following item appeared: "We have alluded to the fact that a college has already been projected in that distant region with the view of affording the sons of emigrants the means of obtaining a classical education on the Pacific Coast. The undertaking is one that can not be too highly commended. Such an institution well endowed and placed under the charge of a competent board will be of incalculable benefit to this growing territory."

The journey to Oregon was made by water and was without special incident. Thus a new personality became connected with the founding of Pacific University, and one destined, perhaps, more than any other to stamp upon it the characteristics for which it should stand in the history of the community. It is only just to Mr. Marsh to say that the task was a heroic one. He himself admitted in a paper presented to the trustees at a later time that the attempt to establish a college was in advance of the needs by at least ten years. The Society in the East recognized the difficulty, and expressions of appreciation for the

work done are found in the proceedings of that body. The number of settlers was very small in the radius which the college might expect to reach; they had very little appreciation of the kind of education he sought to provide; the largest settlements at Oregon City and Portland, both numbering only a few hundred, were separated by high hills and roads nearly impassable much of the time. Mr. Marsh entered the work with a delicate constitution, without any of the comforts of home, and with only an unfinished room on the upper floor of the one building the institution possessed. Such was the abode of one used to all the comforts and refinements of a college community in New England.

He entered at once with enthusiasm into his work. It was deemed best to apply for a new charter and one was secured in 1854. In general outline and in most of its details it resembled the earlier one. The name was changed to the "President and Trustees of Pacific University and Tualatin Academy," a name which the institution still retains. The name Pacific was selected by Mr. Marsh himself in preference to Columbia and Washington. The term University was also his choice and represents his ultimate hope for the institution. The ability to hold land and capital stock was increased to a township of land and \$500,000. The religious character of the institution and the general plan of organization with a self-perpetuating board of trustees was preserved.

The inauguration of President Marsh occurred with appropriate ceremonies, held out of doors for lack of a hall large enough for the occasion. In the inaugural address appear the policies and ideals for which the institution was to stand in the future. He outlined a classical college with high standards and full courses of study according to the ideas at that time prevailing in the better institutions of the East. "To-day," he said, "Pacific University

commences its formal and public organization, accepts publicly and solemnly its responsibilities, and assumes a position from which there can be no honorable retreat. After five years of preparation, of painful and strenuous effort, this institution takes a step in advance. The idea of education has taken a higher form of development—the academy has become the college.” Upon President Marsh personally fell most of the work. He had to outline the policies for the future, to map out the courses of study, set the proper standards for a college education, educate public opinion to appreciate and accept such standards, provide funds for an enlarged work, and do most of the advanced teaching himself. That was a program of work that would make an educator of the present time wince. The difficulties were further increased by a defective adjustment between college and academy and the impossibility of keeping the latter in its position of subordination when it was by far the larger part of the institution.

The presidency of Doctor Marsh from 1854 to 1879 may properly be called the formative period of the institution. The college became more than an idea; it became a fact. With a rare skill Doctor Marsh, supported and aided by those who had already done so much, brought every influence to bear upon the work to which he had set himself.

Following Mr. Keeler in 1855 as colleague of President Marsh in the academy, Erastus D. Shattuck came as principal. Mr. Shattuck was of Belgian descent, born in Vermont, a graduate of the University of Vermont, a man of fine education and abilities. Before coming to Oregon he had been admitted to the bar of New York state. He was engaged as teacher of ancient languages and was thorough in his work. Between Mr. Shattuck and President Marsh there were many bonds of sympathy. Destined, however, for a larger place in the history of Oregon he left educational work and entered the practice

of his profession, attaining by the time of his death to the position of circuit judge in Oregon. Although many of the men connected with the institution in these early times did not stay for a long period of service their influence was valuable, and generally, as in the case of Mr. Shattuck, they remained in the State and became influential friends of the institution. As a successor, Rev. Cushing Eells was recalled and served for a period of three years.

The academy continued to do effective work under the principalship of William Adams, now a resident of Hillsboro, Harvey W. Scott then a student in the college, E. A. Tanner called from Jacksonville, Illinois; S. Weynand, L. J. Powell, A. J. Anderson from Illinois, and J. D. Robb, all of whom served during the presidency of Doctor Marsh. To the development of the college proper Doctor Marsh gave his best service and endeavored to make the institution stand in the community for high ideals of classical education. It is to this effort, therefore, that attention must be directed. Doctor Marsh was not lacking in appreciation of the more elementary features of education, but he felt that the subject of higher education was his own creative sphere of activity.

The requirements of a college are necessarily greater than those of an academy. Money and permanent endowment was needed and to this task Doctor Marsh devoted his energies. In the fall of 1858 he made his first trip to the East, remaining until the spring of 1860. The work of solicitation was distasteful to Doctor Marsh, but he had much success in the work. His letters home are filled with the experiences which a man engaged in such work was compelled to meet. His devotion to the cause and his enthusiasm, together with the helpful influence of connections with a family of prominent educators in the East, surmounted all difficulties and he was able to

secure about \$20,000. The coming of the civil war interrupted the work for several years, but as soon as the war was over he was back in the East again soliciting money. In spite of conditions following the war he was able to secure about \$25,000. Another trip in 1870 brought about \$20,000, and a fourth trip in 1878, promised equal results. He was obliged, however, to return, broken in health, with the work incomplete. A list of the donors found in the records of the trustees is an excellent indication of the patronage which was back of this pioneer institution in the West. The list is too long to give in full, but the following names are representative of the givers: William E. Dodge, Henry Ward Beecher, Dr. E. M. Kirk, Edward Everett Hale, Nehemiah Adams, Amos Lawrence, Frederick Billings, C. P. Huntington, Dr. A. D. Smith, Richard S. Storrs, James P. Thompson, Rufus Choate, R. C. Winthrop, Edward Everett, Sidney E. Morse, and his brother S. F. B. Morse, Professors Phelps and Shedd of the Andover Theological Seminary, and Professors Hitchcocks, Robinson, Skinner, and Smith of the Union Theological Seminary. To a college in its initial stages the indorsement of such men was worth even more than the money they gave. Many of these men also were contributors at several different times, thus signifying their confidence in the undertaking and in the management.

With the increase of means the business management became of greater importance. Upon the trustees added responsibilities fell. The original board had been thinned by death, removal, and resignation, and new men were selected to take the places. In 1851 Prof. Horace Lyman and Thomas Naylor were elected; in 1853 W. P. Abrams, Alanson Hinman, and Israel Mitchell; in 1857 Rev. P. B. Chamberlain; in 1858 Rev. O. Dickinson and H. W. Corbett; in 1866 Rev. Elkanah Walker and George Shindler; in 1873 Prof. Thomas Condon; in 1876 R. P. Boise; in

1877 Henry Failing, and in 1878 Rev. Myron Eells. The selection of men was carefully made, different religious denominations were represented, both professional and business men were chosen. Many of the younger and rising business men of the neighboring city of Portland were placed on the board and gave to the work their careful attention. The board had among its members not only those who understood what a college should be, but also skilled men of affairs who understood how to pursue a correct financial policy. Scrupulous care was taken to keep intact the funds contributed and to see that they were assigned to the objects which the donors desired. Money was not used for current expenses, but the principle of permanent endowment was firmly established. The early treasurers, A. T. Smith, T. Naylor, President Marsh, and Professor Lyman, though they had less funds to handle, had done their work well. The later treasurers, H. W. Corbett, W. S. Ladd, and Henry Failing, as practical men of affairs, were able not only to preserve intact the funds, but by wise investment to increase them.

Mr. Corbett and Mr. Failing were both from the State of New York, came to Oregon as young men to make their fortunes and had been successful. Mr. Ladd was from Vermont, the State that furnished so many of the early founders and had established the first banking house in Oregon. Mr. Corbett served as treasurer until his election to the United States senate in 1866, and always afterward used his influence in favor of the institution's financial welfare, giving largely of his own means. Mr. Failing served until his death in 1898, when he was succeeded by Mr. Frank M. Warren, a son-in-law of Doctor Atkinson. To the affairs of the institution Mr. Failing gave the same care that he bestowed on his own business. The accounts of the institution were even kept in his own handwriting. He was sensitive in his desire that every fund should be

scrupulously kept intact, and that the credit of the institution should be maintained at the highest point. His phrase "better close the institution than do a dishonorable thing" has become proverbial with the board of trustees.

In the development of a staff of college professors the first appointment was that of Rev. Horace Lyman to the chair of Mathematics. Mr. Lyman had come to Oregon originally as a representative of the Home Missionary Society, and in that capacity had already done much work previous to his appointment in the college. He was the first pastor of the First Congregational Church at Portland, and served in other places as well. Mr. Lyman was a native of Massachusetts, born at East Hampton. He was a graduate of Williams College and of Andover Theological Seminary. As a young man he had been a personal friend of Mr. Atkinson and largely through his influence came to Oregon. He was later transferred to the chair of History and Rhetoric, for which he had greater aptitude than for mathematics. Professor Lyman was a man of great usefulness in the college. In spite of physical infirmities he was able to endure the heavy work requisite in a pioneer college. He was often called on to do administrative work besides his usual duties as teacher. During the absence of President Marsh in the East he acted as president, and served as treasurer for some years. As a teacher Professor Lyman possessed that quality of sympathy which drew students to him. The oldest graduates speak in highest terms of him and of the inspirational character of his work.

In 1863 the faculty was increased by the addition of Prof. Edward A. Tanner, who was transferred from the academy to the chair of Ancient Languages. Professor Tanner came to Oregon from Illinois, where he was born. He was a graduate of Illinois College. He was a teacher of high standards and well qualified for the work of a

college such as he was called to serve. After a period of three years he resigned and accepted a position in his alma mater, to the presidency of which he was later called, devoting the remaining years of his life to that service. Prof. O. P. Harpdening, a graduate of Rutger's College, New Jersey, became professor of Ancient Languages, but remained only two years. Although thorough as a teacher, he was somewhat eccentric in manner. Of his subsequent career there is no record. In 1867 Prof. Joseph W. Marsh came as professor of Ancient Languages. He was a half brother of President Marsh, a native of Vermont, and a graduate of the University of Vermont. His experience had been gained in the schools of Wisconsin and of Canada. He still holds the same chair and is the oldest member of the present faculty. A service of nearly forty years has enabled him to leave an impress on the lives of a large number of students who have been under his instruction, and to be a part of the history of Oregon. His ideal of education is the well-rounded training of all the mental faculties. Remarkably well read along many lines, he has broad sympathies for every field of knowledge. Character is the chief object to be attained according to his standards, and for forty years he has exemplified to his students the things he has taught.

In 1872 Prof. Alexander J. Anderson was added to the faculty as professor of Mathematics. He came to Oregon first as principal of the academy and was transferred to the college. Professor Anderson was of Scotch-Irish descent and born in Illinois. He was a graduate of Knox College. Besides the work in Mathematics he was for a period of about three years professor of the Art of Teaching, to which subject considerable attention was given previous to the establishment of normal schools. In 1874 he resigned, devoting the remainder of his life to the cause of education in the Northwest, as principal of the High School

in Portland and as president of the Territorial University of Washington and of Whitman College.

The Ancient Languages, Mathematics, and Mental and Moral Philosophy will be recognized as predominating in the instruction of the college thus far. Attention, however, was paid to Science, its value was recognized, and some strong men were employed in that line. As early as 1861 to 1863 science had been taught by Professor Taft. In 1867 Prof. George H. Collier was called from a similar position in the East to have charge of the work of Chemistry, Botany, Geology, and Mathematics. He was a native of the State of New York, a graduate of Oberlin College, and of the Normal School at Albany, New York. The work in Geology, however, was soon given over to Prof. Thomas Condon, who had begun his connection with the college by a course of lectures on Geology in 1872. Later he was added to the faculty. Professor Condon was born in Ireland, but came to America as a boy. He first came to Oregon as a representative of the Home Missionary work and served at various places in that capacity, among others at Forest Grove. He was not only a professor in the college, but was elected as a trustee. As a scientist in the special field of geology he has become an authority, while as a teacher he inspired great interest in the subject he taught. Professor Collier and Professor Condon both resigned in 1876, the first to accept a position in Willamette University at Salem and the latter to enter the service of the State University at Eugene, with which he has been connected ever since. After the resignation of Professor Collier, Capt. R. H. Lamson, a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, was employed to teach Mathematics until the arrival of William N. Ferrin in 1877. Professor Ferrin was a native of Vermont and a graduate of the University of that State. He was a son of Rev. Clark Ferrin, and had received experience in teach-

ing in connection with academies in New England. His connection with the college has been continuous since that time. For a period of about a year Levi C. Walker, an alumnus of the college, served as instructor of Mathematics. In 1882 William D. Lyman was employed as instructor in English and History. He was a son of the Professor Lyman and upon the death of the latter succeeded to his chair. He was the first alumnus of the college to hold a chair in the college. He remained until his resignation to accept a similar position in connection with Whitman College.

In the earlier times the scientific equipment was meager indeed. It has been said that it began with a spy-glass to view the stars and a galvanic battery which Professor Lyman owned and used as a curative for rheumatism. Small appropriations were made later for equipment and materials and laboratories were started.

The development of a library was one of the special objects of President Marsh's effort. Already a start had been made before his arrival in Oregon. The first book secured for the library so far as the records show was a "History of Harvard College," given in 1851 by Rev. S. C. Damon of the Sandwich Islands, a friend of Mr. Eells and interested in the establishment of a school through a visit to the Tualatin Plain. To one looking back there seems to be a peculiar fitness that this history of a pioneer college of Atlantic Coast should become the first book in the library of a pioneer college of the Pacific Coast. Hon. S. Thurston, delegate from the Oregon Territory to Congress, interested himself in the college, secured many publications from the government, and placed the institution in line to receive many more. Subsequent representatives in Congress have aided in the acquisition of books, and an alumnus of the college, Hon. Thomas H. Tongue, when member of the House of Representatives, had the institu-

tion made a depository of government publications. Thus the library is particularly rich in government works, beginning with the Annals of Congress in 1789. Doctor Atkinson, also, was alive to the value of a library and secured many books when he was in the East. After his death his private library also was given to the institution by his daughter, Mrs. F. M. Warren. President Marsh on every trip to the East secured books, both by gift and purchase. One of the most notable gifts was the collection of Sidney E. Morse. His father, Rev. Jedediah Morse, was interested in the subject of geography, and was himself one of the leading American writers on the subject. Among his books were many that pertained to that field. Thus the library came into possession of such a rare and valuable book as a "Ptolemy Universal Geography," bearing the date 1542. There were also many books of travel now invaluable to one desiring to study American history from the sources. The collection was also rich in early texts and contains at least four hundred volumes of Americana that date previous to 1820. Many of the books are interesting from the names on the fly leaf. There are books given by Henry W. Longfellow, Rufus Choate, and Edward Everett Hale, with autograph signatures, and sometimes addressed to President Marsh. Many of the books are interesting because they represent the taste of those who assisted President Marsh in the selection. His cousin, George P. Marsh, was an adviser, and as a consequence there went into the library many early English texts invaluable to the student of English literature. The collection of books was a remarkably good one for the center of a college life and alone gave tone to the college as standing for culture in the truest sense. A fund also was created which yields a few hundred dollars yearly, and from this the library has been able to add from time to

time a selection of the more recent books needed in the different departments.

Previous to the year 1863 there were no graduates. Several had entered the college, but had dropped out for various reasons. In 1863 the college had its first graduate in the person of Harvey W. Scott, the son of a settler living in the vicinity of Forest Grove. Mr. Scott had been a good student and while yet pursuing his studies had been intrusted with work in the academy. He took the classical course and received the degree of A. B. There was no regular commencement exercise at the time, but his oration was delivered in public. This event marks, perhaps, one of the triumphs in the administration of Doctor Marsh. It had now been demonstrated that a four-year course of study could be maintained. If one student could be graduated others were sure to follow. The next class to graduate, in 1866, consisted of three. Regular commencement exercises were held and every year since there has been a class with appropriate exercises. The largest class that President Marsh was privileged to see finish the course was the class of 1878, which numbered ten. The class of 1867 contained the first to take the scientific course, Dr. Dav Raffety, now of Portland. The first woman to graduate was Miss Harriet Hoover, wife of the late Benton Killen of Portland.

After the graduation of the first student an alumni association was established for the purpose of strengthening the fraternal bonds between the educated men in the Northwest, to preserve the purity of aim that characterized the college life, and to give college graduates living in this region the privilege of a college association. This organization was open to all college graduates living in Oregon and Washington. The plan was well conceived because it brought to the support of the college that sympathetic indorsement of men from many of the col-

leges of the East who appreciated a college education, and aided in the support of high standards in a new country where they were little appreciated.

The period of the war had led to the establishment of regular military drill. Stacks of arms had been provided by the government and especial attention was paid to drill previous to the second election of President Lincoln. There was a strong Southern feeling in Oregon at this time, and one of her favorite sons had been candidate for vice-president on the extreme Southern ticket. A large part of the army of General Price, after its failure in Missouri, had come to Oregon. Regular meetings of the Knights of the Golden Circle were held in the vicinity of Forest Grove, and one of the exciting, though dangerous, pranks of the early students was to act as spies. The influence of the college during this period was wholly for the Union. Doctor Marsh gave freely of his time and effort in that cause. In 1863, the critical year, he preached a fast-day sermon, and at various times lectured for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission.

As early as 1866, and probably earlier, the first literary society was founded, the "Gamma Sigma," Gnothen Seauton, and shortly after the Alpha Zeta Society. A girls' society, the Philomathean, was established as a result of a class discussion, according to the record, in which the boys were worsted and took revenge by taunting the girls with inability to maintain a literary society, a challenge which was accepted with the result that a society was started. The programs of these early societies are interesting from the questions discussed, among others to be noted are the "Annexation of Hawaii," and the "Intervention of the United States in Cuba," which read strangely now. The societies have been a leading feature of the college life and rarely does an alumnus, in referring to his student days, fail to refer with satisfaction to his

connection with one or the other. They have also been the means of bringing into touch with the college many of the prominent men of the state and the coast who at various times have been invited to lecture under their auspices.

Until 1869 a segregation of the sexes had been the policy of the institution as that was the generally accepted idea throughout the country at that time. The westward movement of population and the difficulty of supporting separate schools for the sexes was gradually bringing about a change. In 1869 President Marsh was convinced of the impracticability of his plan, and also seems to have undergone some change in regard to the theory of separate education. His policy of separating the academy and the college and establishing a seminary for young women was abandoned, although considerable headway had already been made in that direction, sites had been secured for the separate schools, and committees appointed to look after each and to apportion the funds. With the admission of women to the regular college classes in 1869 it became necessary to have a preceptress, and the first to hold this office was Mrs. A. J. Anderson, followed in turn by Miss P. A. Wing, later Mrs. P. A. Saylor, Mrs. N. Spiller, Miss Mary E. Mack, and Miss Luella Carson, who held the position for the longest period of time from 1878 to 1884, when she resigned to accept a position in the State University at Eugene. Most of the young women took a three-year course of study leading to the degree of Mistress of Science. Miss Ella Scott, later Mrs. Latourette of Oregon City, was the first to take the longer course leading to the A. B. degree.

As the administration of President Marsh drew to a close a difference of policy, which had existed for some time previous, became more prominent. Some of the trustees and friends of the college were desirous that a

closer relation be established between the college and the Congregational Church, and proposed that the association of ministers and churches of the Congregational body elect the proportion of trustees allowed to that denomination rather than that they be elected by the board itself, as the charter provided. The difference was one of those honest differences of opinion which are always likely to occur and have occurred in so many religious institutions in regard to the same question, but it was unfortunate in its effect in that it led to divided councils where unity of aim was best calculated to insure permanence for the work already done and to secure such progress as the foundations already laid promised for the immediate future. It also added greatly to the burdens of President Marsh, who was opposed to the plan, and together with his naturally delicate constitution and a life of hard work caused his breakdown. Unable to complete the work of his last trip to the East he returned with the work unfinished. In hope of recovery he went to Eastern Oregon but failed to derive the benefit hoped for, and died in February of 1879.

The selection of a successor to President Marsh was not an easy matter and considerable time elapsed before the choice was finally made. During the interval Prof. J. W. Marsh, who was familiar with the policies of his brother and with the details of the work, acted as president. In 1880 the trustees elected as president Rev. John R. Herrick. President Herrick was a native of Vermont and a graduate of the University of that state. He had served for a time as professor in the Bangor Theological Seminary and as pastor at South Hadley, Massachusetts. He was a man of broad culture and high standards. Because of his ideas, his birth place and college connections he was a logical successor to President Marsh, and seemed in every way fitted to carry on the work of the college as already established by his predecessor. In regard to the

question of closer affiliation with the Congregational denomination he was even more opposed than President Marsh to anything that might be regarded as sectarian, and cherished the vain hope of merging all the Christian schools of the State into one strong institution under religious patronage. Had he been able to accomplish his purpose in this it would have been a master piece in the educational history of Oregon. The idea, however, was beyond the conditions that then existed and was opposed by the trustees; his term of service also was too brief to allow of its accomplishment.

President Herrick gave his immediate attention to the acquisition of a suitable dormitory for the young women, now a part of the institution. Most of his time was spent in the East, and, in fact, he never really established a home in the place where the institution was located. Through his efforts in the East enough was secured to erect the building which now bears his name "Herrick Hall." The building was architecturally better than any other on the campus and cost about \$16,000. When it was completed it was opened with appropriate ceremonies and an address upon "The Higher Education of Women, the Last Chapter in the History of Liberty."

During the presidency of Doctor Herrick an effort was made to realize, under the patronage of the college, a plan cherished by Capt. M. C. Wilkinson of the United States army for an industrial school for Indians at Forest Grove, similar to that established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. That he might accomplish his object the captain was detailed as a military instructor in Pacific University. It was the plan that the college should furnish the site and preserve an oversight of the school, while the government should provide the money. Considerable space is taken up in the records of the trustees over questions connected with this undertaking and various reports made from time to time.

It seems to have been well started on a splendid site and by a man well qualified for such a humanistic undertaking, but through political means removal was secured. In its new location, however, it continued to grow and has now become the flourishing institution at Chemawa. Captain Wilkinson was a man of qualities that endeared him to the people of the community, and his death in the recent Indian disturbances in Minnesota caused much regret. The buildings in part still remain and the best one is used as a dormitory for boys. It was the desire of one of the trustees, Mr. E. M. Atkinson, son of the founder, and added to the board in 1887, to utilize the buildings for a department of industrial training which might grow into a technical school, and it went so far as to receive the indorsement of the board of trustees. For some reason, however, probably lack of funds, it was never carried out.

Captain Wilkinson had been a useful man in the college and the military drill was continued after his departure. As successors are to be noted Captain Pierce, a man of considerable ability along the line of classical studies and himself a translator of Vergil and Horace, and Capt. A. Tyler, who still resides at Portland.

In 1883 President Herrick resigned his position and returned to the East, where he engaged in educational work. He is still living and maintains an interest in the college with which he was once connected.

With little delay a successor was chosen by the board of trustees. Rev. Jacob F. Ellis, the next president, was a native of Ohio and a graduate of Wheaton College. His education was interrupted by the civil war, but he returned to complete it and took a theological course at Oberlin Seminary. At the time of his coming to Oregon he was a pastor at Toledo, Ohio. He had first come to Oregon as pastor of the Congregational Church at Forest Grove and then removed to Seattle, Washington, where he accepted

a pastorate. From his residence in Forest Grove he had become known and seemed to possess the qualifications desired for a president. In many of his views President Ellis resembled his predecessors, and was in full sympathy with an institution of the type of Pacific University.

The presidency of Mr. Ellis seems notable for a greater emphasis put upon departments, perhaps by way of realizing the university idea. The girls were placed in a department by themselves, called the Ladies' Department, and the head assumed the title of lady principal in place of preceptress. A separate board of seven women, to act under the regular board of trustees, was created. First to hold the office of lady principal was Miss Emily Plummer, succeeded in turn by Miss Julia Adams of Oberlin College.

It was the purpose of President Ellis also to seek affiliation with a medical school in Portland, a plan which went as far as a committee of the trustees, but no farther. In the line of music the change made was more lasting, and continues to the present time. Instruction in music had been given from an early date, and among the instructors are to be found the names of Miss Olivia Haskell, Mrs. E. H. Marsh, Miss Sarah Bowlby, and others. The first director of the Musical Department or Conservatory was Mrs. D. L. Edwards, wife of the principal of the academy under President Ellis. Instruction on the violin was also given by Mr. D. W. Early. A department of art existed also, with Miss Emma Cornelius as instructor, and later Mr. Clyde Cook, an artist of considerable merit. It is to be noted that the arts were recognized as worthy of incorporation into an educational system.

During the presidency of Mr. Ellis some changes occurred in the faculty, although the corps was not increased. Rev. D. L. Edwards became principal of the academy. Prof. G. W. Shaw was placed in charge of the work in science and gave greater emphasis to the practical sides

of chemical work, a subject in which he was interested. Courses in assaying were offered illustrative of the change. Prof. W. D. Lyman resigned to accept a position at Whitman College and Miss Lillian Poole was elected to succeed him as instructor of English and History. It is apparent that competitors had occupied the field by this time and more attention was paid to the matter of placing the school before the public in the form of printed advertisements, for which appropriations were now made. A college motto was chosen by President Ellis, *Pro Christo et Regno Ejus*, symbolic of the religious character of the institution. During the later years of President Ellis' administration the question of denominational or undenominational control came to a climax. Mr. Ellis had favored the view opposed to that of his predecessors and an attempt was made to accomplish the change. It failed to succeed and President Ellis resigned with the larger part of his corps of instructors. Professors Marsh and Ferrin were the only two that remained of the old corps. Considerable feeling had been engendered in connection with this matter, and the selection of the next president was an important question. Again Professor Marsh acted as president for the interval and until the election by the board of Rev. Thomas McClelland, of Tabor College, Iowa.

President McClelland was of Scotch-Irish descent and came to America in boyhood. He was a graduate of Oberlin College and Andover Theological Seminary. Some years he had spent in the pastorate and had become connected with educational work in Tabor College, where he held the position of professor of Mental and Moral Science when called to the presidency of Pacific University. Before accepting the position he came to Oregon to study the field. He was enthusiastic over the possibility of building up a strong institution upon foundations already laid so well and in a section of the country promising rapid de-

velopment. He brought to the institution the required qualities and soon the opposing factions were harmonized. The charter was so amended that a proportion of two thirds of the board should be Congregationalists, but elected by the board as the charter had provided. Thus the institution was enabled to retain the broad unsectarian character which had been in the past emphasized, and at the same time secure the patronage of a denomination closely identified with educational institutions in the West. It was further provided that the institution should never be removed from Forest Grove, a question which had grown out of the previous one.

The administration of President McClelland was one of development along all lines. The board of trustees was increased at different times to fill vacancies and to provide for the enlarged number by the following: Milton W. Smith, Napoleon Davis, L. H. Andrews, John Somerville, Newton McCoy, H. H. Northup, Frank M. Warren, A. T. Gilbert, Rev. C. F. Clapp, and Rev. A. W. Ackerman. A larger representation on the board of trustees was given to the alumni of the college, and efforts were made to bring to the support of the institution a body of graduates comparatively large, occupying positions of prominence in the community, and some possessed of considerable wealth. Recognition of the relation of the alumni to the college was a policy in line with the development of educational institutions everywhere and a matter of much importance. Administrative matters were simplified by the creation of committees of the board to be intrusted with considerable power in the selection of teachers, attention to the financial matters, and other business that often requires action sooner than the regular meetings of the board could secure it.

President McClelland gave his attention to increasing the resources of the institution, and succeeded in securing

funds for the erection of a large brick structure, to be used mainly for distinctively college purposes, built at a cost of about \$50,000. It was named "Marsh Hall" for the first president. The endowment was increased also by the addition of over \$150,000. Both for the building and the endowment Dr. D. K. Pearsons of Chicago gave largely upon condition that other funds be raised, and extended the time until the result was accomplished, notwithstanding the period of financial depression when the solicitation was made. By means of this added endowment several chairs that had been partially endowed were filled out, a chair in Latin begun by a gift of Mrs. Cushing Eells in the form of land, and a chair in Philosophy begun by Doctor Marsh in the early years of his presidency. A new professorship was established in Mathematics, called the Vermont professorship, and plans were laid for the completion of still others, notably a partially completed professorship started by Mrs. Tabitha Brown and another by Mrs. Horace Lyman, wife of the early professor. The latter however were not completed.

The vacancies in the faculty were filled by teachers selected by President McClelland before coming West. During the period of his administration there were a good many changes which belong rather to the later history than the founding, and need not be mentioned in this paper. It may be said, however, that more attention was given to subjects that had formerly received less attention relative to the classics, mathematics, and philosophy. The courses were strengthened by making possible a wider range of work and more continuous courses in various branches than previously had been possible. The principle of election was recognized to the extent of about one third of the last two years.

It was during the presidency of Doctor McClelland that more attention was paid to distinctively student features

of college life. Athletics, in the form of football and track team work, took a regular place as part of the college life. Oratory, and especially debating, were developed more systematically than before, intercollegiate contests of various kinds took place, a college paper, the *Index*, was started. Christian activities were stimulated by supplanting earlier societies by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations; the cultivation of college loyalty in its better sense was encouraged. All of these features were in line with college life generally and had the effect of attracting students to enter the rigid discipline of a prolonged college course and help them to persist to the end.

Notable as an event of President McClelland's administration must be mentioned the celebration of the semi-centennial of the founding of the institution. It was observed with appropriate exercises and the delegates of the National Congregational Council of the United States then meeting in Portland came out in a body to spend the day. Many college and university presidents and noted clergymen from the East and from England took part. Peter Hatch, a member of the original board of trustees, was present and was able to address the audience for a few minutes, arousing much enthusiasm. A check from Doctor Pearsons of something over \$30,000 was another cause of enthusiasm.

Thus the representatives of the very forces which brought the institution into being were able to come and see the thing accomplished. The institution was on a permanent basis, its heroic age was passed, it had become a part of the history of the State, its graduates were mature men occupying important places in the new West, one of them, its first graduate, had a place on the program.

The institution by the close of President McClelland's administration may be said to have achieved its distinctive

characteristics. Upon the resignation of President McClelland in 1900 to accept the presidency of Knox College, Illinois, the trustees selected Professor William N. Ferrin as acting president, and in 1903 he was elected president. President Ferrin has been connected with the college sufficiently long to be acquainted with the history and the ideals of the institution, and he has been closely enough associated with President McClelland in the administration of the college to be regarded as a logical successor.

JAMES ROOD ROBERTSON.

THE POLITICAL BEGINNING OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY.*

The first people to come to what is now the State of Washington, with intent to make permanent abode, were the fur traders, the men of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies. The two companies were consolidated, after a long and fierce struggle in Canada, and for many years the Hudson Bay Company, which succeeded the other, was in exclusive occupancy of the field in the British and Oregon territories. Its operations on the North Pacific Coast had headquarters at Vancouver on Columbia River, with subordinate establishments at Colville, Spokane, Walla Walla, Cowlitz, Nisqually, and elsewhere. Dr. John McLoughlin was in charge, assisted by Mr. James Douglas, commonly known now, from honors later acquired, as Governor Douglas and Sir James Douglas. These men were of the utmost integrity, great ability, devoted to the corporation they represented and the flag under which they were born—that of Great Britain.

Others who came officially, as representatives of the United States, were Captains Lewis and Clark, the hundredth anniversary of whose coming is now being so magnificently celebrated in the neighboring city of Portland; Lieutenant Slacum and Captain Wilkes, both of the navy, and Lieutenant Fremont, of the army; also Dr. Elijah White, Indian agent. There were occasional American whalers and trading vessels along the coast, on Puget Sound, and in the Columbia River, and Smith, Wyeth, and Bonneville made their appearance with parties overland. These, however, were affairs of short duration,

*An address by Thomas W. Prosch to the Association of Washington Pioneers, at Seattle, June 21, 1905.

mere visits or commercial efforts of transient character. They sustained and advanced the claim of the United States to the country, however, and in that way nationally served a good purpose.

After the fur gatherers in point of permanent residence came the missionaries, Whitman, Eells, Walker, Blanchet, and others. While all honor is due them for their coming, their good works, their struggles and sufferings in behalf of what they deemed right and best, and their efforts to improve the savages about them, they were of a class to themselves, and somewhat removed from the men who arrived later and made the Territory of Washington.

The first of these men were of the overland immigration of 1844, the most conspicuous figure among them being Michael T. Simmons. Simmons was a Kentuckian, tall, commanding, learned in the ways of men but not of schools. Others with him were James McAllister, Samuel B. Crockett, Jesse Ferguson, David Kindred, Gabriel Jones, and George W. Bush, all but Crockett and Ferguson with families. On arriving at Fort Vancouver they did as everybody else did: inquired of McLoughlin and Douglas as to the country, the prospects, opportunities, and for advice. The representatives of the great company freely and frankly told them all they wanted, to wit, that the Americans generally were locating south of the Columbia River, not one so far being north; that the Willamette was the largest valley north of Mexico, and was then in a condition of rapid commercial development; that the soil and climate there were good, the chances for trade excellent, the only schools in the country there, and that in every way they believed it to be preferable for those from the States there to settle. As a matter of fact this information was true and this advice good; but also it was just as much a matter of fact that these Britons did not want American settlers north of the Columbia, which

their government was then endeavoring to establish as the international boundary line, and which purpose would be weakened, if not defeated, by a large number of citizens of the United States making their homes in that part of Oregon; and further, these Hudson Bay Company men knew that the interests and business they represented would be hurt by the presence throughout the country of such strong, free, independent men as they were then addressing. It was better, they thought, and tried to show, to keep the people of the two nations apart, with a broad river between. The statements and arguments thus presented had always before been effective, but in this case they worked somewhat contrarily. They had the effect of arousing suspicions in the minds of their hearers, who thereupon determined they would see for themselves what it looked like on Puget Sound. They were strengthened in this resolution by another cause. The Oregon Provisional Government had enacted stringent laws against blacks and mulattoes. They were not allowed to remain in the country, and for evading or defying the law were to be punished. George W. Bush was a mulatto, with a white wife. He was possessed of more means than any other of his party, and had been very generous in helping the other immigrants. In turn they were grateful to him, and they were going to stand by him through thick and thin. As he could not legally remain within the jurisdiction of Oregon, he concluded to stay in that part in doubt, just outside, and that seemed to be under another flag. The others stayed by him, the whole party remaining for nearly a year on the north side of the Columbia, close to the Hudson Bay fort. Simmons early in the winter made a canoe trip up the Cowlitz River, and the next summer made another trip with several companions to Puget Sound and down the Sound to Whidby Island. Upon returning, he induced Bush, McAllister, Crockett, and the

others to pack up and start for new homes on the Sound. The trip was a hard one, as they had to make the road as they went. They found John R. Jackson, an Englishman, then locating on the way, and they met Lieutenants Warre and Vavasour, of the Royal Engineers, spying out the land for the government of Great Britain. They were not to be deterred by anything, however, and soon had settled themselves at or near the head waters of Puget Sound. There Simmons began a town called then Newmarket but now Tumwater. Bush took a claim on a nearby prairie, which has since gone by his name. It will not be out of the way to here say that the provisional legislature of Oregon removed Bush's civil disability, and that Congress by special law gave him six hundred and forty acres of land.

These men made the country known. It was no longer a closed book. Ford, Sylvester, Rabbeson, Chambers, Ebey, Lansdale, Collins, Maynard, and many more were soon on the ground. The Oregon legislature reached over and took them in. County after county was created north of the river, and the handful of men of 1845 increased to a thousand in number by 1851. With this increase came strength and confidence. The burden of sustaining a government in a region where the distances were so great and the costs of travel in time and money so large became daily more apparent. Some jealousy and local feeling were also displayed. The river was a distinct line of demarkation. Northern Oregon was a term that came into use for that portion on one side of the river, on the other side being Oregon. On that side they were in the majority, and though there is no reason for supposing that they made improper use of their power, the fact that they might do so was a little galling, as also the knowledge that in territorial matters the northern section was not likely to get any substantial good that was wanted in the south-

ern. As a consequence agitation began in favor of a separate territorial organization.

One feature of the celebration of the national holiday at Olympia, July 4, 1851, was an address by John B. Chapman, who touched a popular chord by a happy reference to "the future State of Columbia." His hearers were so affected that an adjourned meeting was held, at which Clanrick Crosby presided and A. M. Poe served as secretary. From this meeting went out a call for a convention at Cowlitz on the 29th of August, "to be composed of representatives from all of the election precincts north of the Columbia," as was stated, "to take into careful consideration the present peculiar position of the northern portion of the Territory, its wants, the best method of supplying these wants, and the propriety of an early appeal to Congress for a division of the Territory."

Attending a convention in those days was a matter of much difficulty. There was a general lack of means of communication—steamboats, mails, roads, newspapers. The settlements extended north of Steilacoom, a few persons, in addition, dwelling on Whidby Island. There were military posts at Vancouver and Steilacoom; Hudson Bay posts at the same places and a farm in Cowlitz Valley; Catholic missions at Vancouver, Cowlitz, and Olympia; the beginnings of towns at Steilacoom, Olympia, Tumwater, and Vancouver; with farms dotting the country in the vicinity of these places and along the traveled highways. It took a day then to go as far as one can go now in an hour, and it meant travel in canoe, on foot, and occasionally by horse. It meant, too, the lack of public accommodations along the line, with the common feeling that the traveler was one of many who necessarily were imposing upon those living by the way. It meant nights on the beach and nights in the woods; hunger, labor, exhaustion, and possibly sickness. The pecuniary expense

was serious, too, as money then was a scarce article, and the settlers were poor. Under the circumstances it was astonishing when the day arrived to find so many citizens at Cowlitz. Those participating were: Thomas M. Chambers, Seth Catlin, Jonathan Burbee, Robert Huntress, Edward D. Warbass, John R. Jackson, William L. Fraser, Simon Plomondon, S. S. Saunders, A. B. Dillenbaugh, Marcel Bernier, Sidney S. Ford, James Cochran, Joseph Borst, Michael T. Simmons, Clanrick Crosby, Joseph Broshers, Andrew J. Simmons, A. M. Poe, David S. Maynard, Daniel F. Brownfield, John Bradley, J. B. Chapman, H. C. Wilson, John Edgar, and Francis S. Balch. Seth Catlin, known to his admiring friends as "the Sage of Monticello," was president, and A. M. Poe and F. S. Balch, secretaries. Two days the convention lasted. Committees were appointed on Territorial Government, Districts and Counties, Rights and Privileges of Citizens, Internal Improvements, and Ways and Means.

The Committee on Territorial Government reported in favor of the creation and organization of a Territory north of the Columbia River, and the delegate from Oregon was requested to do all he could to secure action from Congress of the character indicated. John B. Chapman, Michael T. Simmons, and Francis S. Balch were appointed a committee to prepare a memorial upon the subject and push the project to a successful termination.

The Committee on Counties recommended the creation of four new counties. For one the name of Simmons was urged, and for another the name of Steilacoom. The legislature granted the request in the case of one county only. It was about to create Simmons County, but M. T. Simmons, who was to be so honored, protested, and the name was changed to Thurston. When Chapman saw that Steilacoom County would not be established, but that instead his town of Steilacoom would be included in

Thurston County, he tried to have Steilacoom made the county seat, but Simmons was too strong for him, and it was located at Olympia instead. A year later — December, 1852 — Pierce County was created and Steilacoom became a county seat, much to Chapman's gratification.

Doctor Maynard went further at the Cowlitz Convention than was at first contemplated. He proposed a resolution that when the convention adjourn it be to meet again in May, 1852, for the purpose of forming a constitution preparatory to asking admission into the Union as one of the States. His resolution was adopted by unanimous vote. This was a remarkable proposition in many respects. At the time the territory affected was part of a region from which it could not alienate itself, and the other part was in population at least eight times the greater. At the rate the inhabitants were increasing, there would have been fifteen hundred or two thousand people in the new state at admission, if admission were not delayed beyond the evident anticipations of the convention members. When the Territory was finally admitted, in 1889, the people numbered 300,000, and Oklahoma is kept in territorial condition to-day with 600,000 inhabitants. It may be that upon sober second thought the people saw the impossibility, the utter futility, if not absurdity, of the idea, for the May convention suggested was not held, and for a short time the matter even of a territory seems to have been suspended.

It was a short time only, however. On the 4th of July, 1852, Daniel R. Bigelow delivered a patriotic address at Olympia, in which he once more presented the subject to an appreciative and sympathetic audience. In September the first newspaper north of "the River of the West" made its appearance at Olympia. It at once began to advocate the Territory of Columbia. So confident were the publishers of the creation of the territory, and of the bestowal

upon it of that name, that they called their paper the *Columbian*. It was well conducted, ably edited, and influential. A term of the district court was held at John R. Jackson's on the 26th and 27th of October, at which time the matter was discussed by those in attendance. As a result a call went out for another convention to be held at Monticello November 25, 1852, when questions similar to those previously discussed at Cowlitz would be considered.

The most ardent advocates of a new territory were the people living farthest north, particularly Puget Sound. It was recognized that those living on and near the north bank of the Columbia had less reason for separation from those on the south bank than others more remote had. It would not be unlikely, in fact, that in the new territory they would be farther from the capital and the center of population than they were under the conditions prevailing. It was determined to placate these people as far as possible, and with this idea in view the convention called for at the Jackson meeting was located at Monticello. Monticello was a small place that for twenty years had prominence as a transfer point on the route between Puget Sound and Portland. The building of the Northern Pacific railroad and the town of Kalama killed it in the early seventies.

The convention met as called. An inspection of the list of delegates developed the fact that the area represented in the Cowlitz meeting the year before had grown in settlements and population, and that at least one place had since sprung into existence that was inhabited by men of ambition, enterprise, and public spirit. Though far to the north, it had sent eight of the forty-four delegates present. This new place was called Seattle. One of the eight was George N. McConaha, who was made president, and another, R. J. White, was made secretary.

Another new place, still farther north, was also represented,—Port Townsend. The full membership was composed of the following named men: George N. McConaha, R. J. White, William N. Bell, Luther M. Collins, Arthur A. Denny, Charles C. Terry, David S. Mayhard, John N. Low, C. S. Hathaway, A. Cook, N. Stone, Calvin H. Hale, Edward J. Allen, John R. Jackson, Fred A. Clarke, A. Wylie, Andrew J. Simmons, Michael T. Simmons, Loren B. Hastings, B. C. Armstrong, Sidney S. Ford, W. A. L. McCorkle, N. Ostrander, E. L. Ferrick, Quincy A. Brooks, Henry Miles, E. H. Winslow, G. B. Roberts, L. A. Davis, S. D. Ruddell, A. B. Dillenbaugh, William Plumb, Seth Catlin, Simon Plomondon, G. Drew, H. A. Goldsborough, H. C. Wilson, J. Fowler, H. D. Huntington, A. Crawford, C. F. Porter, Simpson P. Moses, A. F. Scott, and P. W. Crawford.

A memorial was adopted asking of Congress creation of the territory of Columbia, the southern and eastern boundary suggested being the Columbia River, the northern and western being the 49th parallel and the Pacific Ocean, about 32,000 square miles from the 340,000 then said to be Oregon. Reasons were given why this should be done, and the memorial, signed by all, was sent to Washington City. The Oregon legislature, soon after in session, adopted a memorial of similar purport, and Joseph Lane, then delegate in Congress, did what he could to accomplish the desired end. The bill was amended so as to make the new territory include a much greater area, and the name was changed from Columbia to Washington. It passed in March and was approved by President Fillmore.

Franklin Pierce became President immediately afterwards, and he appointed the first officers. They were Isaac Ingalls Stevens, Governor, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs; Charles H. Mason, Secretary; J. Patton Anderson, Marshal; John S. Clendenin, Attorney; Ed-

ward Lander, Victor Monroe, and Obadiah B. McFadden, justices of the district and supreme courts. Owing to the fact that to him had been assigned the additional task of examining the country between the upper Mississippi River, and Puget Sound, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of a northern railroad route to the Pacific, Governor Stevens was delayed several months in arriving in the new Territory. When he reached the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, he formerly proclaimed the Territory of Washington, and upon arrival at Olympia issued another proclamation, establishing judicial and election precincts, and ordering the first election; also directing the legislators elected to meet at Olympia, February 27th following. A delegate to Congress was to be elected at the same time. This important event occurred on the 30th of January, 1854. There were twenty polling places, or precincts, in the eight counties; Bellingham then being in Island County, Willapa in Thurston County, and Walla Walla in Clark County. At the election the nine men here named were chosen for the legislative council: D. F. Bradford, William H. Tappan, Seth Catlin, Henry Miles, D. R. Bigelow, B. F. Yantis, Lafayette Balch, George N. McConaha, and W. T. Sayward; and the following named eighteen for the house of representatives: Francis A. Chenoweth, Henry R. Crosbie, Andrew J. Bolon, John D. Biles, A. Lee Lewis, Samuel D. Howe, Daniel F. Brownfield, Arthur A. Denny, H. D. Huntington, John R. Jackson, Jehu Scudder, John M. Chapman, Henry C. Mosely, Levant F. Thompson, Leonard D. Durgin, Calvin H. Hale, David Shelton, and Ira Ward. A strange fatality was connected with one legislative district—Pacific County. Its only member, Jehu Scudder, died about the time the session began; Henry Fiester was elected to succeed him, but died before taking office; James C. Strong was then elected, and qualified a few days before the ses-

sion ended. The man who was first nominated for this legislative seat, and who would certainly have been elected, as there was no opposing candidate, died also before the day of election, and Scudder was put on the ticket in his stead. This was practically three deaths in one office in three months, none of the men getting near enough to it to be sworn in. George N. McConaha was president of the council and F. A. Chenoweth speaker of the house. B. F. Kendall was chief clerk of the house, and Morris H. Frost chief clerk of the council for a few days, he being succeeded by Elwood Evans. The legislature elected J. W. Wiley, Public Printer; William Cook, Treasurer; Benjamin F. Kendall, Librarian; Daniel R. Bigelow, Auditor, and Francis A. Chenoweth, Frank Clark, and Daniel R. Bigelow, prosecuting attorneys of the three judicial districts. With a full corps of United States appointees; with a congressional delegate, Columbia Lancaster; with a law-making power in session, and with territorial officers as stated, Washington was fairly launched upon the sea of time, fully equipped and thoroughly provided for the long and prosperous voyage before it.

It is not going too far to say that no State of the American Union was more favored in its pioneer citizens than our own. The men whose names are recited in this narrative were fair illustrations of the body of the people of Oregon and Washington. The past tense in this statement is used advisedly, for with perhaps half a dozen exceptions, all are now gone to that other land and that blessed reward which their good works here on earth entitled them to. These men were large of brain, large of heart, strong, courageous, public spirited. They probably did not realize how well they were building; but it was their nature to do well, their training, their fixed habit. We of the second generation are the gainers thereby, and with us the whole world. These men would

have distinguished themselves in any community within our national borders. In honoring their memories we honor ourselves, honor our State, and honor those who come after us for all time. The names of McLoughlin, Whitman, Eells, Simmons, Bush, Evans, Stevens, McFadden, Denny, Warbass, Bigelow, Shaw, Brooks, Lander, and the others are inseparably connected with one of the best chapters of the world's history—a chapter of peace, plenty, and progress—the chapter that includes our own Territory and State of Washington.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

DR. JOHN SCOULER'S JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO N. W. AMERICA.

[1824-'25-'26.]

II.

Leaving the Galapagos Islands for the North Pacific Coast.

10th.—To-day we left James's Island & in the evening we passed Albemarle Island. We were much surprised to see a fire on the beach, & on burning a blue light the signal was in some degree answered by an increase of the fire on the shore; this left little doubt in our minds that there were some European castaways on shore, who in all likelihood belonged to some South sea whaler.

21st.—To-day rather blowy & numerous herds [of] fish sporting about the vessel, & we succeeded in obtaining two species. One species proved to be the ——— [illegible] & the other was a *Diodon*, which I have preserved in spirits. When inflated the fish is of an orbicular shape. The back is of a blue colour & interspersed with dark purple spots; belly white; a purple line about half an inch in breadth runs across the throat from one eye to the other. Eyes large; iris, azure blue. The whole body is covered with spines; those of the back arise from a purple base & have white points; the belly spines are entirely white. Pectoral fins placed at the posterior side of the bronchial aperture, of a blue colour, rays about 1% bifurcating towards the margins of the fin. Dorsal fin situated near the caudal, with fine purple spots at the base; margin green. Anal fin opposite the dorsal free from spots. Caudal fin of six rays with many spots generally placed at the base of the rays. Bronchial apertures somewhat semilunar. Lips fleshy

& loose. Tongue fleshy; its point covered by a semilunar membrane fixed to the lower jaw. This animal is edentulous.

Xiphias velifer [*Xiphias gladius*?]. Body somewhat roundish; becoming very slender before it terminates in the tail, this part is curvated [?]. Gills 5 on each side; internal ones bilamellar, exterior one single. No swimming bladder. The intestines are very simple, they consist of a stomach which forms almost a cul-de-sac; & where it narrows & immerses into the small intestine is enveloped by the lobes of the liver. The stomach contained a number of small flying fish & a sepia; its internal surface has many longitudinal plicæ. A short & straight gut goes from the stomach to the anus. Liver about fills the whole abdomen; at its anterior extremity it is thick & lobulated, towards its caudal it becomes thin. Spleen small & black.

27th.—A great many birds of the sub-genus *Sula* have been flying about the vessel and several of them have alighted on the rigging. From the descriptions of Cuvier & Temminck this bird in all probability is the *Pelecanus bassanus* of Linneus & the *Sula abba* [?] of modern ornithologists.

28th.—Saw abundance of porpoises of two different species, probably *Delphinus Gladiator* & *D. phœna* [?] of Lacépède.

February 17th.—During the very bad weather we have experienced of late, many albatross have been seen & to-day we succeeded in obtaining four of them. In their plumage & internal organisation they differed in no respect from those I dissected of[f] Terra del Fuego. It may be proper to notice some mistakes into which Cuvier has fallen, in his *Régne Animal* with respect to this bird. He says: Ils habitent tous les mers Australes, vivent de froi de poisson de mollusques: *Régne Animal*, p. 1, +517.

He also mentions the *D. exulans* as being a great enemy to the flying fish. The first of these mistakes, that the *Diomedea* is entirely an antar[c]tic bird, we have now had abundant means of rectifying & saw the bird in equal abundance in 40 degrees north latitude as we did of[f] Cape Horn. It is, however, a remarkable circumstance that these birds should be found in such plenty in the N. Pacific, while not a single individual has ever been found in the North Atlantic. M. Cuvier also represents the *D. exulans* as living very much on flying fish. During all our voyage we never saw an albatross within many degrees of the region of flying fish. I have noticed these errors because they are the only ones I ever could detect in the *Régne Animal* of this distinguished naturalist, & who is undoubtedly better acquainted with the structure of organized bodies than any man in Europe.

24th.—This afternoon an unfortunate accident happened to the boatswain, who, in consequence of a fall, broke his thigh bone. This misfortune was occasioned by the slippery state of the decks from being continually wet. On getting brought to his bed I found the fracture was in the middle third of the femur & the upper part of the bone had nearly protruded through the skin. The leg of the same side had suffered very much by a previous compound fracture, & at present it has been a good deal hurt. I found no more difficulty in the reduction than what was occasioned by the motion of the vessel. We soon found that it was impossible for our patient to remain in his bed with any degree of comfort & got a cot arranged for him in the cabin. In this case I adopted Potts' plan in preference to that of Desault, because on account of the injury his leg had sustained splints were more unbearable on his leg[?] than on his thigh.

March 5th.—Of late we have had no amelioration of the weather, & my patient has suffered in proportion. His

leg & knee, however, give him much more pain than his thigh, so as to require fomentations & frequently it is essential to slacken the bandage to give him some relief.

Great quantities of *Velella* are to be seen in every direction around us. They resemble a good deal those of the Atlantic; but are not so large. The tentaculæ are of an azure colour. The concave part of the animal is red & the crest is rather lighter than in the Atlantic ones.

25th.—We have now been 73 days from the *Galapagos* & great part of that time we have experienced very severe weather, so that we have seldom been 24 hours at a time free from close reefed topsails. The effect of this weather on the boatswain has been such as to spoil the sanguine hopes I had entertained of a perfect cure. The pain has been so great at times to oblige me to get up during the night to relax the dressings for some time & to give opium.

28th.—For the last three days the weather has been more moderate & has produced a beneficial effect on my patient's comfort & spirits.

We procured a very large mass of sea weed that was floating past us; it measured about 40 feet. The stipes was round, tapering & fistulary; it swelled into ampullæ in many parts, which were hollow, & some of them measured 14 inches in circumference. From these ampullæ proceeded the frondose part, which was long & ensate; but I could detect no appearance of fructification. Among the roots of the plant several curious animals were found; probably more interesting than the plant they inhabited. I found a species of *Asterias*, two species of *Cancer* & several other articulate & several *Sertularia*, the most beautiful & delicate of all the coralline animals.

April 3d.—This morning we saw Cape Dissappointment, a circumstance we had long & anxiously wished for; & there was not an individual of our little society who did [not] feel pleased at the prospect of speedily reaching the

object of our long & stormy passage. Our attempt to cross the bar, however, was unsuccessful & we were under the mortifying necessity of putting again to sea. On the 7th we made another attempt & before the evening we were safely at anchor in Bakers bay. We lay about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the shore, & opposite two small rocky islands, which lay at the bottom of the bay. The land is very steep & uneven, but is covered completely by pine trees.

9th.—We were this morning pleased by a scene that was new to all of us, several canoes were seen approaching the ship & in a short time three of them were alongside of us. On coming on board they behaved with the utmost propriety; but from what we could understand of their signs we suspected the state of affairs among them was very unsettled. We ascertained from them that most of the white men had gone up the river & left Ft. George, & by taking a knife & putting it to their breast we concluded that some murder had lately taken place.

The dress of the men consisted of a robe of skin, which was thrown loosely over their shoulders, & alike useless for the purpose of decency or of comfort. Their hats were made of straw very neatly plaited, and were of a conical sugar loaf shape. The dress of the women was more decent, & consisted of a petticoat which reached to the knee. It was made of many strings placed exceedingly thick together & must afford considerable warmth. Over this they wear the same skin robe as the men.

Among those [who] were permitted to come on board was a man dressed in European clothes, & who appeared to be of some consequence among them; his wife who accompanied him was dressed with red cloth & was the most intelligent person among them. She knew a good many English & a few French words. They were well provided with arms of different kinds; in addition to their bows & arrows, every canoe had several fowling pieces & a plen-

tifull supply of daggers of different shapes. We feasted these people on bread & molasses, & they appeared well pleased with their repast, after it was concluded they left us, after behaving in the most peac[e]able manner.

They were all of a very moderate stature, none of them exceeding $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Their hair is long, straight & black, their colour olive, inclining to coppery; none of them had any beards. Their limbs are straight; but the gastrocnemius wants the roundness which is admired in Europeans. The eyes are of a dark colour, & the iris very black, cheek bones rather prominent, face round; mouth large; nose rather flat. These characters approximate them in some respects to the Mongolian race, with the *Ætheopii* they have manner of affinity.

In the afternoon in company with Mr. Douglass I made a short visit to the shore. The first we collected on North American continent was the charming *Gaultheria Shallon*, in an excellent condition. We then penetrated into those primeval forests never before explored by the curiosity of the botanist. Here the lover of musci & lichens enjoys ample opportunity of studying his favorite plants. The moisture of the climate is very favourable to the growth & variety of these plants & the trees & rocks are covered by them. During this excursion we saw none of our new friends, the Indians.

10th.—We landed again in Bakers bay, with the intention of going across Cape Dissapointment to the ocean. In this journey we met with many difficulties, not only from the steepness of the rocks, but from the deep pools of fresh water which were to[o] deep to pass. Our excursion was also obstructed by the immense profusion of *G. Shallon*. The coast to the north of Cape Dissapointment is very precipitous & it is dangerous to climb among them. From their soft nature they are rapidly broken down by the breakers, which wash against them with

great violence. Along the coast are many deep cañons which the tide fills at high water. In this situation the eagle takes up his abode in a situation congenial to his nature, & two of these animals devouring a duck added wildness to the scene.

11th.—We are still attended by several canoes, but they bring us no fresh provisions, the only articles of trade they bring are hats, bows & arrows & other articles of Indian manufactory. These they barter for knives, buttons & other trinkets. The most curious ornament they possess is a shell which they suspend from their ears, & which appears to be a species of *Dentalium*. The Indians continue to behave very peaceably towards us, although it is apparent that the utmost distrust prevails among themselves.

12th.—To-day we landed (well craved) at Ft. George, & were received in a very polite manner by Mr. McKenzie, the only gentleman at present at the fort. He informed us that the other gentlemen were employed in building a new fort, about 80 miles further up the river, at Point Vancouver, & Ft. George had been ceded to the Americans by the treaty of Ghent, & they were expected to take possession of it very soon. We were informed by Mr. McKenzie of the cause of the suspicious appearance we had seen among the Indians. Comcomli or Madsu who is the greatest chief upon the river had lost two of his sons. While these two young men were sick Comcomli had placed them under the care of a neighbouring chief who pretended to great skill in medicine, & cured diseases by singing over his patients. Under this method [of] cure both the young chiefs died, & the medicine chief was accused of procuring their death by enchantment. The belief in magical agency which seems to belong to every savage tribe, & exists equally among the degraded natives of the coast of

Guinea, & the acute people of Carybee, reigns with no less force among the tribes of the Columbia.

To revenge this imaginary crime, the remaining son of Comcomli had assassinated the medicine chief, & it was now expected that his friends, who are both numerous & powerful, would attempt to revenge his death. To-morrow in all probability a battle will take place, as old Comcomli is going to visit the graves of his sons, who are buried near the village of the murdered chief.

We made a short excursion to the neighbouring woods, & collected a good number of *Musci* & *Jungermannias* besides Phænogamous plants. On our return we ventured into an Indian house, but the reception we experienced rendered it prudent to leave it as soon as possible. Two of the Indians drew their daggers, an insult of which we were obliged to take no notice.

Ft. George is a square building, consisting entirely of wood, & situated about 100 yards from the river. It is surrounded by palisades & furnished with bastions. The entrance looks towards the river & opens into a large square court. On the West side of this court are the stores & warehouses, on the opposite one the houses of the people & the shops of the mechanics. On the south side is a large building containing a messroom & the apartments of the gentlemen. They have cleared about 80 acres of land, on which they cultivate potatoes; & the woods afford plenty of pasturage to their cattle, which, however, are not very numerous. They have only hogs brought from Owyhee & bullocks from Monterey. A little to the west of the factory is the Indian village, it [is] situated on a low sandy beach & is sheltered on the south side by a forest of pine trees, many of them of immense height. This village consists of about a dozen houses, but many of them are large & many have from 15 to 30 inmates.

14th.—Since we have been in the Columbia River the rain has been incessant, & we have not had six [days] of uninterrupted dry weather since we anchored in Bakers bay. The rain detained us on board yesterday, & although it was very little better to-day we made an excursion to the shore. On arriving at the Fort we were informed that a battle had taken place among the Indians & one man had been killed & two severely wounded. To-day we had the opportunity of seeing the War Dance of the Indians. About 50 men paraded from the vicinity of the fort to the beach, they moved at a most grotesque pace, keeping their feet in the same position with respect to another as nearly as possible. On their progress to the beach they fired their fowling pieces & set up the most disagreeable howling I ever heard; they then formed a circle round theirs, & continued their dance, making a general yell every two or three minutes. Many of them were armed with fowling pieces others had bows & arrows & all of them had knives. They each of them [wore] a war dress consisting of dressed elk skin, which went over them like a shirt without sleeves. This war dress, although a poor defence against fire arms, is said to be arrow proof. The warriors were painted of every sort of colour, but principally black, red & yellow. Their music consisted of a number of shells of *Pecten marina* tied to a stick, which they rattled during the whole of their manœuvres. In the afternoon I had an interview with the old chief Comcomli or Madsu, as he is now called. He is an old man of about 60 & blind of an eye. He is at present in deep mourning for his sons; his mourning consists in putting on the worst clothing he can possibly procure, & abstaining from washing; in that condition he continues for eighteen or twenty months.

The change of names among the Cheenooks depends upon a curious feeling & is well illustrated in the case of

Comcomli. The old man had conferred his name & authority on one of his deceased sons, on his death the name forever ceased to be used among his countrymen as being unlucky & calling to remembrance a lamented chief; hence it is esteemed cruel & unfeeling ever to pronounce it; & when they speak of the deceased chief they say the old man's favorite son, or some such expression.

15th.—In my wandering through the woods to-day I met with many Indians, chiefly women & children, who were employed in gathering the young shoots of *Equisetum arvense*, which is eaten by these people as we do asparagus, & has a similar taste.

To-day I collected a considerable number of cryptogamous plants, & none of the plants I ever met with on the N. W. coast gave me greater pleasure than *Hookeria lanus*. I found beautiful specimens of the charming little plant, with its constant attendant, *Hypnum Splendens*, growing by the margins of a shady rivulet among a brush wood composed of *Menziesia ferruginea*. This pleasing occurrence brought to my memory in a vivid manner, the delightful excursions I had made in a far distant country where I imbibed a love for natural history from the example of him whose name it bears, & the instruction it was his pleasure to communicate.

16th.—This morning I had the pleasure of being introduced to Dr. McLachlan [McLoughlin] the chief factor of the H. B. Company on this side of the Rocky Mountains. From him I experienced the utmost politeness & to his kindness was indebted for some curious specimens of the rocks of the Rocky Mountains.

17th.—Mr. Douglass & myself made a journey to Tongue Point, about 5 miles from Fort George. Our journey was fatiguing, as we had to climb over rocks to penetrate dense brush wood & damp marshes. Seldom have I made an excursion attended by more interesting results. My vas-

cula & handkerchiefs were filled with mosses and land shells; phænogamous plants were abundant; the pools along the banks of the river contained plenty of fluviatile crabs; and the features of the rocks gave me a clear idea of the geological structure of the surrounding country.

I may here condense all the geological facts respecting this country I have been able to collect. There are no high mountains within thirty miles of Fort George. The country consists of sloping hills of gradual ascent & regular outline, quite free from the rugged & barren appearance of the primitive formations. From the soft nature of the rocks of the Columbia & from the great size of the river during the summer months, immense quantities of sand are deposited in different situations. From the abundance of these materials the numerous alluvial islands of the Columbia are deposited & banks & shoals are formed in every part of the river. These islands are some of them two or three miles in extent, & would afford the richest agricultural returns, if they were not annually covered by the waters of the river during two months of the year. All the mud & sand of the river is not thus deposited; part of it is carried out to the ocean, & by the action of the Westerly winds, which blow three fourths of the year, it is accumulated at the mouth of the river & forms the chief danger of the navigator who visits the Columbia. Point Adams on the South side of the river seems to be entirely an alluvial deposition, formed by the united efforts of the sea & river. On going [to] the north of Cape Dissapointment we find the same causes operating there. The [sea] has undoubtedly made considerable encroachments on the rocks, but this operation must be diminished yearly from the effects of its own efforts. The rocks are worn away & disintegrated & deep & capacious caverns excavated in their sides, but

these very ruins, by being thrown up in the form of sand banks, defend them from further encroachments. It is, however, obvious that all the sand in the neighborhood of Cape Dissapointment is not from its own disintegration, perhaps more than the half of it is derived from the depositions at the mouth of the Columbia; & this opinion amounts to certainty when we witness the enormous quantity of driftwood which is no doubt derived from the same source.

The rocks in the vicinity of the Columbia River appear to be entirely calcareo[u]s, & this character seems to extend from the Cascades to the ocean. To pronounce a decided opinion of the rocks of the Cascades would be exceedingly rash, as I have never had an opportunity of visiting that part of the country; but from the specimens I have received from there by Mr. Douglass, & from the phenomena of saline springs, there can be little doubt of the character of the prevailing rocks. At the Cascades silicified woods abound, & often very fine specimens are found; the fibrous texture is still preserved, the colour is pale ferruginous brown, & they are hard, but may be scratched by the knife. Rocks are also found there approaching to the character of calcareous tufa; they are coarse grained, of a white colour, & easily reduced to grains, & often contains pebbles disseminated through it.

The rocks from Cape Dissapointment to Tongue Point were more within the sphere of my observation & their study afforded many interesting facts. These rocks are of a dark leaden colour & of a very soft consistence, & are rapidly worn away by the rains & water torrents. They are of moderate height, & very commonly caverns are excavated in them. It is exceedingly probable that these rocks are connected with the series of magnesian limestone formation. They contain imbedded masses of a spherical shape, & varying in size from that of a hazelnut

to the size of a cannon ball. They are much harder than the rocks in which they are contained & resist for a much longer time the action of the weather. On some parts of the rocks I detected a white efflorescence, but in such small quantities that I could not detect its composition; it was, however, insipid. The water that issued through this magnesian limestone deposits some ferruginous matter, indicating that a small portion of iron enters into the composition of the rock. The limestone is traversed by veins of two different substances, sandstone & carbamate of lime, in the form of spar. The calcareous veins are very small, not above 4 inches in breadth. Their occurrence is by no means frequent, the only place where I saw them was near Cape Disappointment. The sandstone veins are very common on the side of the river. This sandstone is of a very coarse, granular texture, & is soft & friable. These veins are about the breadth of 3 feet in general & have little inclination. They resist the action of the air longer than the limestone, as in many places the limestone is washed away & the more durable veins remain like small dykes. The fossil contents of this rock, although not very varied, are abundant. They consist as far as my examination extended entirely of shells. A — [illegible] of large size and good preservation was by no means uncommon. The handsomest shell may probably [be] a species of *Venus*. Those parts of the rock that were unusually hard were the richest in this shell; but easily fell out entire from a smart blow of the hammer. I also found great abundance of a small species of —, & very imperfect fragments of a species of *Solen*. Such is the geological structure of the country about Ft. George as far [as] my observations extended. But from the limited opportunity I had of penetrating far into the interior of the country, of course it was only in my power to give a general idea of its geology, & not to enter into those interesting details,

which could only be obtained by more extensive observations.

However, the knowledge I have been able to acquire is, I think, decisive as to the geological features of the country in the vicinity of the sea, and to render it probable that a similar range of calcareous formations exists towards the Cascades at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles from the sea. What is made certain by the fossils of the coast is, I think, made equally obvious with regard to the interior from its calcareous tufa and abundant saline springs: namely, that all the rocks of this part of the country belong, or are subordinate, to the magnesian series. Saline springs are by no means uncommon through the country, and I succe[e]ded in procuring a quantity of water from one of them.

22d.—We have now so completely ransacked the neighborhood of Ft. George, that very few new plants now attract our notice, and our impatience is obliged to wait till the progress of spring lays open more plants to our curiosity. In this dilemma I set out in quest of animals and was tolerably successfull. Among the wood [I] found two very fine species of land — [illegible] & in the water near the margins of the river I detected abundance of a beautifull fluviatile *Turbo* furnished with an operculum, & with very deep ribs. In the same situation I obtained a fine species of *Astacus*, that takes up his abode under stones in the same situation with the *Turbo*, which seems to form his principal food & in his turn is devoured by the ravens, which are very abundant along the beach.

29th.—This morning I set out on a visit to Ft. Vancouver, & I undertook this with the more pleasure, as I had every reason to believe the vegetation would be considerably different from that of the coast.

Our party consisted of 5 canoes, superintended by Mr. McKay. As the wind was favourable we made rapid

progress & in the evening we slept at Oak Point, 30 miles from Ft. George. As far as I could judge the rocks on the banks of the river appeared to belong to the trap class; but I had no opportunity of landing to examine them.

30th.—We were detained to gum two of our canoes, which gave me an opportunity of seeking for a few plants. The soil of Oak Point is marshy & alluvial, & the only vegetables that abound on it are *Cyperaceæ*, of which I amassed many species. One of the Canadians killed a fine species of *Hydrophis*, which I lost no time in preparing the best way I could. I stuffed it with moss, but unfortunately I had no preserving powder, a thing so essential this season. In the stomach of this serpent I found a large bullfrog (*Rana tourina*) and several elytræ of *Dytiscus marginalis*.

Our progress to-day was very slow, as the wind was unfavourable & required that we should make frequent delays, which enabled me to obtain some excellent plants, viz., *Cornus Canadensis*, 2 sp. *Myosotis*, 1 sp. of *Fedice*[?] 1 of *Valeriana*, & some *Ranunculi*. At the place where we encamped in the evening we found a Canadian of the name of Gervais going to Ft. George to obtain medical advice for his child. On going to the patient, I found a poor girl in the last stages of enteritis and no chance of its surviving for many hours. I encouraged him to hasten to the Fort and gave him a note to Mr. McKenzie for such medicines as might have a chance of being useful.

May 1st.—We made very little progress on account of the strong wind that blew directly down the river.

2d.—To-day at 11 o'clock we arrived at Ft. Vancouver, where I experienced the most polite reception from every gentleman belonging to it. On rejoining my fellow traveller, Mr. Douglass, we made an excursion to Menzies island, where we found many interesting plants. These plants on this island belonged chiefly to the classes *Ccm*-

positæ & *Leguminosæ*, the *Phlox linearis*, *Collomia linearis*, Nuttall, & a beautifull *Myosotis*, which, as being the most beautifull nondescript plant we had yet seen, from the allusion contained in the Scotch name for the genus, we agreed to honour this plant with the name of *M. Hookeri*.

Ft. Vancouver is built on the same plan as the other fort, but is not so large. Its situation is far more pleasant than that of Ft. George. It is situated in the middle of a beautifull prairie, containing about 300 acres of excellent land, on which potatoes & other vegetables are cultivated; while a large plain between the fort and river affords abundance of pasture to 120 horses, besides other cattle. The forests around the fort consists chiefly of *Pinus balsamea* & *P. canadensis*, while most *amentacæ* are exceedingly rare. Within a short distance of the fort I found several interesting plants, as *Phalangium esculentum*, *Berberis nervosa*, *B. Aquifolium*, *Calypso borealis* & *Corallorrhiza innata*. The root of the *Phalangium esculentum* is much used by the natives as a substitute for bread. They grow abundantly in the moist prairies, the flower is usually blue, but sometimes white flowers are found. The bulbs are about the size of those of the *Hyacinthus Mensoriptus* [?], & are collected by women & children. In their present state they have a slightly sweetish taste, but when cooked they acquire the flavor of molasses. The Indians have two methods of preparing these roots: they sometimes boil them & eat them cold; but their more favourite method is to compact them into a cake, which they bake by placing it under heated stones & covering them with hot ashes. Baked in this manner they are very palatable.

5th.—To-day found some Indian boys fishing; the fish they caught appeared to be a sp. of *Clupea*; on obtaining & dissecting a specimen of this fish all ambiguity as to its genus was removed. It had no maxillary teeth. At the

commencement of the œsophagus, & behind the gills, there are two bones of a curvated shape & each containing 5 teeth. Liver large & many-lobed, some of the lobes extending to the anus. Swimming bladder large, intestines simple.

10th.—Since my arrival here my time has been entirely occupied in making excursions in every direction around the fort, & I had no reason to be dissatisfied with my collection.

11th.—To-day set out on my journey to the coast & bade a sincere farewell to the gentlemen of the establishment in whose society I had spent some pleasant hours. On our journey to the coast we passed a great number of Indian villages, & in all of them the inhabitants were employed in fishing Salmon or Sturgeon. These villages were all of them very populous & we procured from them any quantity of Salmon we wish to purchase. About 6 miles below the Fort we found some Indians drawing their net ashore, & among the variety of fish it contained I selected two species of *Cyprinus*, which were new; these specimens unfortunately became putrid before we arrived at Ft. George. While stopped to prepare our supper I made a little excursion into the woods with Mr. Douglass & found *Dalibarda repens* [?], a large *Pyrola*, & a sp. of *Heuchera*.

12th.—After taking our supper we allowed the canoes to drift down the river & in the morning we found had gained 15 miles by this plan. At two o'clock we were off [f] Tongue point where the first plant that attracted my notice was a beautifull & a new species of *Mimulus*, & we collected specimens of it with the utmost enthusiasm. This little plant grows among *Musci* on the wet rocks & may be called *M. pusillus*. It is distinguished by the following characters & is the smallest sp. of the genus. Leaf an inch in length, lower lip of the corolla spotted, leaves spatulate.

On arriving at Ft. George, I was informed that about half an hour ago, two Indians had fallen down from an attack of apoplexy; they were crossing the river in a canoe & both of them fell senseless within ten minutes. I lost not a moment's time in going to see them. The bodies were both laid in the canoe in which they had died, & had their faces turned toward the ground. The bodies were yet warm, and the skin a dark colour. Their friends were sitting around them lamenting them, with the most dismal noise. On removing the mats in which they had been already enveloped, we found all pulsation either of the heart or great arteries gone. I opened a vein in the one who had died most recently, but with no success. In examining the bodies we received no assistance whatever from the natives; this did not in any degree arise from an unwillingness to accept of our aid, but from an unconquerable aversion they have to touch a dead body.

Apoplexy is far from being a rare disease among the Cheenooks, & two months seldom elapse without an Indian being carried off[f] by it. This perhaps depends on the enormous quantity of fish & other kinds of animal food they eat, & their inordinate appetite for oil; certainly few savage tribes have equal facility in procuring their favourite luxuries as the Indians of the N. W. Coast. Of the vegetables which they eat, many belong to the suspicious order of *Umbelliferæ* such as *Heracleum*, *Sium*, etc.

25th.—My time is now divided between making arrangements for our voyage to the Northward & completing as far as possible my collection of Columbia plants. We are about to leave the Columbia during the finest season of the year, but I anticipate a rich harvest at Nootka & Fuca straits.

31st.—We are now ready for our expedition, which promises to be of considerable interest. From the character of the northern tribes, a greater degree of vigilance

& caution than is required among the friendly Cheenooks, from whom we suffered no trouble, except from their begging propensities. We, however, can have no possible reason for apprehending any danger, our crew is well armed & a party of thirteen natives of Owyhee will make us perfectly secure. In the morning we landed at the Cheenook village to purchase salmon; before our departure I seized the opportunity of herborising & found some interesting plants as a fine sp. of *Triticum* & a sp. of *Spiræa*, 1 sp. of *Trifolium*. In the afternoon some of our Indian friends came on board to wish a good voyage. Among these were Kasoka & Chicuana, who had been assiduous in bring us provisions.

June.—On the first of June we crossed for the second time the bar of the Columbia & stood to the north. As the wind proved constantly unfavourable we were obliged to beat up to Queen Charlotte's Island. On the 8th of June we saw the mountains of Nootka about 10 leagues distant. Continuing our voyage we saw many albatrosses, which seem to emigrate to more northern latitudes during the summer months. The sea everywhere abounds in the beautifull *Verella* which seems to be dispersed all over the N. Pacific, & probably forms the chief support of *Diomedea* & other sea fowl which live in these latitudes.

20th.—A small species of *Alca* [?] fell on deck. It appeared to be the *Alca alle* of Linnæus, *Uria alle*, Brisson. These birds were by no means scarce about the vessel. It had the double larynx in common with its congeners. Stomach small & muscular, with many longitudinal rugæ on its internal surface. The intestines had many convolutions. Liver consisted of two nearly equal lobes.

23d.—We are now in the channel between Queen Charlotte's Island & Pitts Archipelago, & have great quantities of Fuci afloat past us. We succeeded in obtaining a few specimens which [I] found contained several smaller

species, & to abound in marine animals, as *Sertulariæ*, *Crustacæ*; we also found a *Halothuria* & a sp. of *Patella*.

24th.—This afternoon we were coasting along Q. Charlotte's Island, & at about 6 miles distance from the shore. We passed what we took to be an Indian village, & were not dissatisfied, for a canoe came off[f] to us. They informed us that the name of their village was Skedans [?]. They had all of them blankets, & their hats were of a much neater shape & displayed far more ingenuity than those of the Cheenooks. They were also well supplied with fire arms. These people were much taller, & more robust, than those of the South. Their hair straight & black, & was tied in a knot on the crown of their heads. Their cheek bones were prominent, & all of them had some beard. Their conduct was bold and decided, bordering on ferocity, & while on board they behaved with the utmost selfishness. They seemed, however, to be frequently visited by vessels, as they mentioned the names of several that [had] lately been on the coast.

25th.—We were again visited by the Queen Charlotte islanders; for the few things they had to sell they demanded such exorbitant prices as convinced us they were in no want of European goods. The number of English words they knew surprised us, & it was soon evident that they had acquired their knowledge of English words from the Americans. The teeth of all these Indians are remarkably poor, I suppose from the quantity of sand & filth they eat with their food. Notwithstanding our short acquaintance with these people, it is very evident that they far excell the Indians of the Columbia in manly appearance, ingenuity, & facility in imitating their civilised visitors. In two respects, however, they were far inferior to Cheenooks, in cleanliness & mildness of conduct.

In the afternoon we were becalmed, & the men amused themselves in fishing the *Squalus Acanthias* which was

here in the greatest profusion. The individuals we procured were about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, & had white spots along their sides. The anal fins of the males has a curious appendix in common with the other sp. of the genus. The appendix consists of three claws analogous to the claws of birds. All these claws are of different shapes; one of them was quite obtuse, the middle one was hooked, the external one was quite straight. The æsophagus was furnished with tubercles, perfectly analogous to those of the marine testudines, in their structure, & probably they are for the same use. The stomach large & contained many longitudinal plicæ and terminated in a very narrow pylorus. The intestinal canal was short, but exceedingly capacious, & its internal surface was furnished with a very complicated set of valvulæ conniventes. The spleen & pancreas were of moderate size. The liver was very large, & consisted of two nearly equal & very large lobes, extending from above the stomach to the anus. The testicles were large, oblong ovate bodies, situated near the superior extremity of the liver; they had very long & convoluted spermatic tubes laying close to the spine. The ova of the female I found in all stages of development. They varied in number from twelve to fifteen. In their early stages they were perfectly spherical, & had on their surface a small cicatrix the size of a pea; the whole egg in this stage might be the size of a turtle's. At a more advanced period, the ova exhibited a beautiful appearance; after cutting through the membranous & very vascular uterus, an exceedingly delicate & transparent chorion was exposed, & the young animals were seen moving about with great vivacity in an amber coloured liquor *amni*. They were about two inches long, & were connected to the ovum by a short cord. When put into a bucket of sea water they moved with the utmost liveliness.

26th.—We are now off Skittigass, one of the harbours the American traders are very fond of frequenting. Many of the natives came off[f] to us in their canoes; they were well provided with arms, as spears, bows, arrows, & muskets. Their fire arms are almost all obtained from the American traders, but we saw several with Russian characters on them. Their language had no connection with the Cheenook or Nootkan. With their imperfect English they made us understand that there was an American vessel at present in their harbour, & were very anxious we should go there. These Islanders were the most acute & ingenious people we had seen on the coast, & were very cleanly in their dress & persons.

Their bows were about five feet in length, & were much stronger than those of the Cheenooks. The arrows were pointed with bone. The parts are about two inches long, & have three or four notches on each side; they were not fixed to the arrow, but attached to it in the same manner as the iron part is attached to a harpoon.

One of the Indians was very anxious to accompany us on our voyage, & we willingly accepted his offer. He informed us that he had already been on board several American & Russian vessels as an interpreter, & assured us that he would neither lie nor steal. From the attachment he expressed to the Americans, we might easily infer that they observed justice and humanity in their intercourse with the Indians. A Cheenook we had on board soon excited his contempt, & he told him that if he came to live at Skittigass he would be flogged every day unless he would pay more attention to cleanliness.

27th.—T[w]o canoes came to us from a low sandy point to the N. of Skittigass, the Punta Ymbisible of Vancouver's chart; they behaved with great propriety & seemed well acquainted with our new interpreter, who requested a little bread from us to send to his children on shore.

29th.—This morning we were becalmed off Dundass Island, on which we landed about 6 A. M. On landing we discovered many tracks of Indians, & several articles belonging to their fishing apparatus; we saw, however, no natives. That part of the island we were on was surrounded by steep rocks, & the landing was rather difficult. The whole island appeared to be encircled by a zone of algæ. Among the rocks were many curious marine animals; the shells belonged to the genera *Tuba* *Patella* & *Mytilus* [?]. The most interesting animal here belonged to the articulata; it was a species of *Monoculus*. Among the *Radiata* we found *Actinea*, *Asteriæ* & *Alcyonia*. Our limited time did not allow us to make an extensive collection of plants, but those we found were very interesting. On the rocks near the coast we found plenty of *Saxifraga* & *Potentilla*, with abundance of *Xanthium mimosim*.

After we got on board the vessel a breeze sprang up & we made for Portland Canal. The entrance into the above named canal & Observatory Inlet is about 3 miles broad, & is accordingly deep, as we could find no bottom with 120 fathoms of line. During our progress a canoe put off[f] to us from the shore, but as the wind was favourable it would have been a loss of time to have waited for them. When they saw it was impossible to overtake us, they testified their displeasure in angry menaces. We saw several people viewing us from the shore; one of them was armed with a fowling piece, the others appeared to be unarmed. On the approach of night we had much difficulty in finding a convenient anchoring place on account of the great depth of water close to the shore. After 3 hours hard labour, & some anxiety, we found a small cove about 4 miles below Point Ramsden, where we anchored in 30 fathoms of water & about 160 feet from the shore.

30th.—This [morning] we landed to take a view of the country. On penetrating across a little point of land we found a stream of excellent water, descending with great rapidity from the mountains & forming a little cascade where it fell into the sea. Here I found many interesting specimens; & was under little apprehension, as no vestiges of Indians could be discovered. Under the shade of pine trees I found *Corallorhiza Odontorhiza*, & on the margins of the rivulet *Pyrola*, several orchids, & a species of *Heuchera*, which was unknown to me. The coast abounded in marine phenogamous plants, as *Plantago*, *Triglochin*, & the little *Glaux maritima* in great abundance. The *Glaux* seems to inhabit every seacoast in the North Temperate Zone. I have now collected the plant in places between which 130 degrees of longitude intervene. I also obtained a specimen of *Mergus serrator*.

On returning to the ship we found a canoe alongside. It was in all probability the one we had seen off Point Ramsden. There were only four Indians in the canoe; their behavior was peaceable & inoffensive. They belonged to a very populous tribe, called the Nass Indians. Their language is a dialect of that spoken on Q. Charlotte's Island, & was easily understood by our new interpreter.

In the afternoon our canoe was dispatched to seek for a more commodious anchorage farther up the inlet. I made one of the party. We went as far as Salmon Cove of Captain Vancouver. During our excursion we saw no traces of inhabitants. Every part of the coast was characterized by high, almost perpendicular mountains, separated by deep ravines, rather than vallies. The rocks were entirely composed of granite, & usually covered with pines; but there were many barren spots where the durable texture of the granite resists the action of the storms & winter torrents, & almost refuses to support the minutest

lichen. On our return it began to blow very hard, & it was with some difficulty we could reach the ship; once indeed the canoe was nearly upset, & it was dark before we got on board. We now received the disagree[e]able intelligence that in our absence the ship had drifted from her anchorage & was with much difficulty prevented from going ashore.

July 1st.—This morning we left our disagree[e]able anchorage & a favourable wind soon brought us to Salmon Cove. Before getting under way we were visited by another canoe from Nass, in which were some women, with their lips deformed in a remarkable manner. A transverse incision had been made in the lower lip, about an inch and a half in length, into this opening an oval shaped piece of wood was introduced, of about the same length as the incision, an inch in thickness, & concave on its upper & lower surfaces. This piece of wood they often exchange for a larger one & dilate the lip to a monstrous size. In some cases the lower lip projected about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch before the tip of the nose, & and gave them a most grotesque appearance when they chose to eat anything.

The Indians appeared to have some traditions of C. Vancouver, as they were at some pains to make us understand that a great many snows ago two vessels had anchored in the place where we now are.

The little vall[e]y in which Salmon Cove is situated has a verdant appearance, & a small brook supplies it with abundance of excellent water. The stones in the brook are everywhere covered by *Fontinalis antipychea* & *F. squamosa*, the last is in the state of perfect fruit.

2d.—Our excursion on shore to-day was very limited, as we were under perpetual apprehension of a visit from the Nass Indians, whom our Skittigass friend was at great pains to assure us were a bloody & treacherous people.

Before we left the coast we were informed by good authority that his advice was not false.

3d.—In the morning canoes from Nass began to make their appearance, & in a short time we had 15 canoes & about 150 people about us. We were soon convinced of their friendly intentions, as they had brought their wives & children with them. Those who appeared to be chiefs among them were brought on board & feasted on bread & molasses, of all things the most delicious to an Indian palate. They behaved with uniform propriety & honesty; a tin dish in which we had given them some molasses was taken ashore in the evening, but a canoe came off[f] with it before we could detect the mistake.

4th.—We were busily occupied to-day in trading [with] the Nass people; they proved to be keen merchants, but were not guilty of any attempt to cheat. We obtained some of the haunch backed [salmon] of[f] by C. Vancouver & embraced the opportunity of investigating its internal structure. In general the left side is of a lighter colour than the right. The dorsal protuberance is narrow & acute, & is composed entirely of cellular matter. Brachial rays four; — numerous. All the individuals that had the haunch back were males, their snout was also produced to a considerable extent & armed with powerful teeth. Upper jaw arcaded [?].

These people had in their canoes a kind of square cake which they were always chewing. On examining these cakes I found there were two kinds of them. The one was of a soft consistence & consisted of different species of *Halymenia*, compressed into a cake. From the taste of these cakes & the saline efflorescence on their surface, it was obvious they did not wash the salt water off[f] them. The other cake was of a more firm consistence, & consisted of the bark of some tree beaten very fine & then compressed

& dried. Its taste was sweet & far more agre[e]able than the cake of *Halymenia*.

These Indians resemble those of Q. Charlotte's Island very closely. The men are tall, stout & well proportioned, & have not the same aversion to beards that most Indian tribes have. They have high cheek bones, oval countenances, & rather round chins. When washed their complexion is not any darker than that of an inhabitant of the S. of Europe. There was a degree of decency among these people we did not observe among any tribe on the coast. Although most of the men wore blankets, they had a piece of cloth before them so as to prevent exposure. Almost the whole of the women had calico gowns & piece of blue cloth thrown over their shoulders, & had a very handsome appearance. They do not appear to use the lip ornament from their infancy. I saw many girls of about 14 or 16 who had not as yet assumed this mark of distinction; probably it is conferred at marriage.

5th.—In our boat excursions, we had found a more convenient anchorage than Salmon Cove, about five miles further up the inlet; to this situation the vessel proceeded & anchored in 30 fathoms [of] water in a very secure little bay.

On account of the incessant rain we now experienced, as well as from the number of Indians about us, we judged it proper not to leave the ship. Friendly as the conduct of the people of Nass has been, the bad character they have got from previous visitors renders it by no means prudent to put ourselves in any degree at their mercy. Our Skittigass interpreter shrewdly advised us not to go on shore, but to employ the Indians to bring off water. As a further reason for adopting his advice, he said that a boat's crew belonging to an American trading vessel had been cut off [f] by the Nass people while employed in obtaining water; &

that since that time the Americans had always employed the Indians to supply them with this essential article.

6th.—As most of the Indians had left us this morning, we went about four miles up the inlet in the boat. In one place we saw the smoke of an Indian lodge, but none of its inmates made their appearance. The western branch of the inlet which we had been exploring is about a mile broad, surrounded on each side by steep & lofty mountains, covered with pine trees. The scenery of some of our Highland lochs would be very similar if the hills would support as rich a vegetation. On our return we landed for a few minutes on a small rocky point which afforded some specimens. In this situation the *Lilium pudicum* grew in abundance, although unfortunately out of flower. The pear-shaped granular roots of this plant are much sought after by the Indians & is eaten raw; its taste is not disagreeable, & it contains far more farinaceous matter & less savoury [?] than the roots of most *Liliaceæ*.

7th.—We now set out on our departure from this part of the N. W. Coast, and although the wind was unfavourable, we succeeded in getting 8 miles down the inlet, and came to anchor in a small but secure harbour on its western side.

In this situation we found a few Indians employed in fishing. They sold us two fine halibut, weighing about 100 lbs. each, & brought a good number of haunch backed salmon. The salmon were mostly females, & were larger & of a more vivid colour than the males; their snout was not prolonged, nor was their haunch nearly so much developed as in the males.

The method the natives have of procuring halibut is very curious. They select a bifurcating twig of the birch tree, & to one of its bifurcations they fix a sharp, straight piece of bone, with its point directed in an opposite man-

ner to the limbs of the fork. This hook would be too weak to hold so strong a fish if they were not ready to transfix him with their spears as he came to the surface of the water.

8th.—To-day we got a few miles further down the inlet, but in the evening we were obliged to anchor in a very disagreeable situation. We were less than a cable's length from the shore & were obliged to make the vessel fast by a rope fixed to a tree.

9th.—In the morning it began to blow hard & we were obliged to quit our uncomfortable situation and run back to the bay we had left on the 7th.

12th.—We still remain in our old situation, the wind unfavorable & the rain incessant. Tired of inaction, & as the Indians had left us, I ventured ashore to collect a few specimens, & penetrated through the woods till we came to a small bay formed by a sudden turn the land takes to the eastward. The excursion afforded some interesting plants whose genera I was unacquainted with; but my partiality for acotyledonous plants was amply gratified in the abundance of *Lichens*, *Musci*, & *Jungermanniæ* this place afforded; & all of them in a state of fruit. The rocks even to high-water mark were covered by *Gyrophora* [?], *Conomyes* & *Peltidiæ* [?]. The beauty & variety of the species, & the narrow space in which they are condensed, enabled us to collect 40 specimens in the course of an hour, & convinced me that this bay was one of the most favoured climes for cryptogamous vegetation. This richness will cause the more surprise when it is stated that the principal rock was granite of a very undecomposed nature, with a few masses of clay slate. Of mud slate I could detect no traces.

On our return we observed the remains of an Indian lodge. It appeared to have been merely a temporary residence, as it consisted only of a few poles supporting a

cover formed of the branches of trees. The neighborhood was plentifully strewn with the shells of *Mytili* & *Ostreae*; & we also found the remains of some of the fishing apparatus of the Indians.

13th.—My time is now completely occupied in examining in as great an extent of country as I can with prudence. This day was occupied in the course of a small rivulet which emptied itself into the cove. The rain was incessant & the ground so obstructed with *Xanthium Spinosum* as greatly to obstruct our progress. The phenogamous plants of our neighbourhood I had some time since exhausted, & my attention is chiefly directed to the *Acotyledonæ*, & I found a few interesting individuals of them in this excursion. We had also the pleasure of seeing a fine waterfall. The water descended through a narrow channel & with great impetuosity over a perpendicular rock about 60 feet in height. Clambering up a steep rock near the cataract I found *Linnæa borealis* & *Lycopodium*.

17th.—We made another excursion in a different direction to a small point on the N. W. side of the inlet. We had scarcely sent the boat away when we saw an Indian canoe going round the point, but as their number was equal to our own we did not judge it necessary to return. The place we visited was exceedingly poor in plants, the only ones we detected were a species of the order *Cruciferae*, *Linnæa borealis* in fine fruit, *Noethia*, & *Pinus taxiflora*.

18th.—As the morning was fine & the breeze favourable, we made our way to Salmon Cove, where we came to anchor about 11 o'clock. The quantity of salmon around us was truly astonishing; looking over the sides of the vessel we saw shoals of them amounting to many thousands. As there appeared to be no natives in the neighbourhood, I wandered three miles up the brook & saw

nothing to alarm me but the tracks of bears, which were very common. Every pool and every brook swarmed with salmon so that nothing was easier than to kill any number of them. I killed 7 very large ones & dragged them after me to the ship. In consequence of my success a party was sent in the afternoon to procure more, & in the evening they returned with 40 fishes. In this excursion I met with a few interesting plants, as *Veratrum viride*, *Epilobium* [?] & a beautiful plant which Nuttall & Pursh omit in their Floras, but from the description of De Candolle I think is the *Romanzovia Unalaschensis* of Dr. Chamisso: *Romanzovia-sepala* 5, *basi coalita*, *Pet.* 5 *in corollum* 5 *fidam coalita*, *stam.* 5, *unotubo inserta capsula univalvis*, [An illegible description of about twenty words omitted.]

19th.—The wind still continues unfavourable, so that our only alternative is to work down the inlet. By this plan we gained 15 miles, & in the evening came to anchor in a small sandy bay in the Northern part of the inlet.

21st.—As the weather was very unfavourable on account of the rain & fog, we were obliged to remain at our anchorage. Although there were three canoes of Indians around us, yet as their conduct had been uniformly honest & peaceable, I resolved to venture ashore among them. On landing we found them employed in gathering berries, which they cheerfully presented to us, & seemed under no apprehension whatever.

22d.—To-day we made considerable progress & at sunset we came to anchor in a small & commodious bay below Nass. As we passed Nass harbour many canoes came off to us, & seemed very anxious we should stop to trade, but we did not choose to detain ourselves as we had been detained here long enough already.

23d.—In the morning the boat was dispatched to procure some salmon, which were so abundant in the cove.

On this excursion we killed 35 large ones. Since we visited Observatory Inlet I have been in the habit of paying close attention to the salmon it produces. In their young state no difference is to be observed between the males & females in their external organization. As the season of spawning approaches, a striking change takes place in the male so that a stranger would be apt to suppose the two sexes belonged to different species. The body of the female is round; the back is of a deep green colour, interspersed with purple spots; sides have large green spots, belly white. The snout is round and obtuse; teeth short; lower jaw nearly as long as upper. At the spawning period, the appearance of the male is very different. The body increases in size, & is very much compressed, & a large haunch is developed on his back, which consists entirely of adipose substance. The snout becomes very much elongated; but the inferior is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch longer than the upper. Both jaws are furnished with strong, hooked, recurved teeth. The colours of the male is much paler than those of the female.

On our journey I obtained a few plants, as *sanguisorba*, *Empetrum nigrum*, *Stellaria*, *Orchis scirpus sylvestris*, & *Adiantum pedatum*. Most of these plants were obtained in a damp sp[h]agnous place, which abounded in a species of *Salamandra*.

24th.—On account of the incessant rain I did not venture ashore during the forenoon; in the afternoon as there was no prospect of better weather I ventured to make a short excursion, & was so fortunate as to obtain a few *Musci* & *Jungermannia*.

25th.—This morning with a favourable though unexpected breeze we left our anchorage, & although in a few hours the wind resumed its old direction, before evening we had lost sight of Observatory Inlet.

26th.—In the afternoon we were of[f] Skittigass & afforded us an opportunity of sending our interpreter ashore. Although in one respect he dissapointed our hopes by stealing when he had an opportunity of doing it; we ought not to judge of him with the same severity as we would do of those who know better. It ought rather to be our wish that this interesting island may obtain some knowledge of moral responsibility & religious principles.

The acuteness of the Queen Charlotte's Islanders has prompted them to adopt a great many customs of civilized life, & the cultivation of potatoes is very general among them, and had our time admitted of it we might have obtained any quantity of this usefull vegetable. This consideration alone, in my opinion, places them far above the natives of the Columbia in the scale of intelligence. With all the advantage of having Europeans constantly among them I do not know of one improvement requiring the smallest exertion that has been adopted by the Cheenooks. Poor Skittigass Tom was the only Indian that ever expressed much anxiety to learn to read and write, & was very fond of obtaining a few ciphers. He made charts of Nass & Skittigass, which served to give a very good idea of the coast & of the different tribes settled along it.

In the afternoon we saw two vessels getting out of Skittigass harbour & had the pleasure of receiving a visit from Mr. Kelly, Master of the Brig Owyhee, who informed us that the other vessel was the Volunteer, Captain Barker. Although engaged in the same trade, Mr. Kelly behaved in the most friendly & unreserved manner towards us, & gave us all the information in his power respecting the Indians.

He assured us that on every part of the coast the natives were hostile & would be ready to seize every opportunity of cutting of[f] those who went ashore & of surprising the vessel. The only exception to this hostile disposition was

in the natives of Kigannie: the Porta Cordova y Cordova of C. Vancouver's chart. At Kagannie the seamen went ashore without any precaution whatever, & the natives were allowed to visit the ship in as great numbers as they pleased. Much of the hostile disposition is probably owing to the Americans themselves, who alone enjoy the trade to the N. of Nootka. Of this, at least, I am sure that offenses of the Indians have been punished in a most bloody & unrelenting manner. With respect to atrocity they can outdo the Indians in cruelty.

While off [f] Skittigass the Indians gave us a specimen of their expertness in thieving. By some means or other they contrived to steal the charges of the great guns & did [it] in so expert a manner that it was not detected till next day.

30th.—To-day we were off [f] Nootka harbour & a canoe with 10 Indians came off [f] to us. They repeated the well known words Wakush & Masquada, & invited us to visit their harbour. They gave us a few fishes, consisting chiefly of *Cyprinus brama* & *Gadus minutus*. In appearance & language they have affinity to the Cheenooks, & soon [we] were able to understand them pretty easily.

About 5 in the afternoon we anchored in — [illegible] Cove, about 4 miles above Friendly village. Here Moaquilla came on board with his two sons. The elder bears his father's name, & is, as far as we could judge, of a very mild temper. The younger is called Sadoo. Before venturing on board the old man inquired from what country we came, & on being informed we were English, he & his people clapped their hands & seemed highly delighted. On showing him the portrait of Mr. Mears he soon recognized his old friend, & had not forgot the Spaniards or C. Vancouver. When we showed him the portraits of himself & Callem, he easily found out the unfortunate chief & told us that Komkela was dead for many years. In the

evening he & his people left us, much pleased with the reception they had experienced.

31st.—The whole of the Nootkan people seemed in motion to visit the vessel, & we soon had about 25 canoes around the vessel. From the scarcity of European goods among them, it was pretty evident they seldom had any opportunity of seeing vessels. Most of them were in a happy state of ignorance of rum & tobacco; old Moaquilla was the only exception to the remark, & he was much pleased with a little rum & water, which a Queen Charlotte Islander would have rejected with contempt & demanded wine.

Our new friends brought us plenty of provisions, as *Salmo Salar*, *Pleuronectes rhombus* & *Clupea pilchardus*, the berries of *Gaultheria Shallon*, a sp. of *Allium*, & the roots of *Phalangium esculentum*.

August 1st.—In the forenoon I had the opportunity of landing for a few minutes, & although my time was so limited, I succeeded in procuring two species of *Compositæ* [?] I had not before seen, & in picking up a few *Fuci* on the rocks.

A short time after we returned to the ship we found that one of the iron hooks used in hoisting in the boat had been stolen, & the canoe in which the thief was had paddled off[f] with great dispatch. We had the pleasure of witnessing the disapprobation this conduct excited among his countrymen, & a canoe was instantly sent in pursuit of him & returned in a short time with the property.

2d.—My herborising yesterday had attracted the notice of the Indians & one of the most intelligent among them brought me a *Monoecius* plant I had not before detected. To encourage this disposition I gave him a few presents & I doubt but [not] he may bring many more interesting plants.

The Nootkan canoes remain with us from morning to sunset, & of course are well provided with such food as the country affords. Their principle[al] support at present appears to be dried salmon, roots & oil. Their oil was contained in different kinds of bags. Some of them were made from the intestines of the larger quadrupeds, others were made of the fistulous stipes of a sp. of *Fucus* which abounds everywhere on the coast.

3d.—Since visiting Nootka sound we have all been very curious to visit the village, & see what vestiges of the English & Spanish settlements remained. Although we received a very kind invitation from Moaquilla to pay him a visit, the fate of the Tonquin which was cut of[f] a few miles to the S. had filled the minds of some on board with fearful apprehensions. Concerning the fate of the Tonquin the Indians were very reserved; perhaps they had little to communicate. The old chief told us that the massacre had taken place at Cloquatx, & the scheme had been concocted by a turbulent Indian named Quashelyshee, & that it was done entirely without the knowledge of the chief of Cloquatx. We know nothing authentic concerning the loss of this vessel; but it seems probable that she was surprised by the natives of Weanamuth of Cloquatx. The Tonquin was the first ship the Americans sent with settlers to the Columbia; the captain after loosing two boat's crews on the bar of that river, whether by accident or on purpose, the stupid ferocity of the man renders it difficult to decide, he was sent on a trading voyage to the islands, where the loss of the ship I have not the smallest doubt was occasioned by his own negligence.

It is but justice to the people of Nootka to state that we did not find that degree of filth among them which Mr. Mears describes. They were as cleanly as any tribe of Indians we had seen. Nootka, which excited so much contention between the courts of Madrid & London, is now

completely neglected by every civilised power, & the state of poverty in which they are at present affords little inducement to the visits of mercantile adventurers. The few skins they have to dispose of, seem to make their way to Ft. George through the inter medium of other tribes, as most of their blankets & other articles were recognized to be the goods of the N. W. Company.

The Cheenook custom of deforming the head prevails among the inhabitants of Vancouver's Island; but this operation must be somewhat modified, as their heads are of a more conical shape than of the Columbia Indians. Like the Indians of Queen Charlotte's Island they wear long ear ornaments, consisting of square pieces of a shell which has a margaritaceous lustre. The practice of deforming the lower lip does not prevail at Nootka.

8th.—Since the 3d of August on which we left Nootka we have made but little progress on account of the frequent calms & foggy weather. As we were quitting Nootka we had an instance of the honesty of old Moaquilla. We had given his young son the loan of a musquet while we were in — [illegible] & although we [were] leaving the land fast with a fair wind, a canoe was sent after us to restore us the musquet as a proof of his honesty & friendship.

This morning we entered the straits of Juan De Fuca. About 7 A. M. we discovered a number of canoes making towards us & in a short time we had fifteen of them about the vessel. Some of the natives who had been at Ft. George soon recognized Mr. McKenzie, & all of them behaved in the most friendly manner, & brought us plenty of fish, turbot & mullets (*Mugil auratus*). The chief of these people, who is brother to the Tatooch chief, was in one of the canoes, but was so debilitated as to be unable to come on board. They carry on an inveterate war with the people on the opposite side of the straits (the Cloquatx

& Nitlinat), & many of the slaves they obtain are sold to the Indians of the South & arrive at the Columbia.

The natives of Tatooch show much ingenuity in manufacturing blankets from the hair of their dogs. On a little island a few miles from the coast they have a great number of white dogs which they feed regularly every day. From the wool of these dogs & the fibres of the Cypress they make a very strong blanket. They have also some method of making red & blue stripes in their blankets in imitation of European ones. At a little distance it is difficult to distinguish these Indian blankets from those of Europe.

9th.—On continuing our course down the straits, canoes came off[f] from every quarter, bringing beaver & other skins. Most of the Indians belonged to a powerful tribe called the Klallums. When they found that we came from the Columbia they became very friendly. In the evening we anchored off[f] their villages in Port Discovery. We had no sooner anchored than about 20 canoes came off[f] to us. In one of the canoes was a young man who had seen several of the traders from Ft. George who had made a journey to this part of the coast last winter. These people much resemble the Indians of the Columbia in their dress, manners & personal appearance. In the vicinity of their village are many of those poles so much represented in Captain Vancouver's voyage. We found it difficult to ascertain the use of this curious apparatus, but was told by some of the Indians they were for catching birds. Most of the canoes had long spears, armed with iron points, & ornamented with human hair; these spears were about ten feet in length. They had also a kind of harpoon about the same length as their spears but not so strong, & at the extremity had a bifurcated piece of wood fixed to them & both its points armed with bones.

10th to 13th.—The Indians continue to behave in the most quiet & inoffensive manner, & have supplied us most abundantly with fishes, ducks & all the vegetables their country afforded. The chief is an old man named Squastin, who visited us every morning, bringing us a present of fish & berries, & he is by no means so greedy a beggar as Moaquilla of Nootka.

As none of the boats ventured ashore I had no opportunity of examining the productions of the country. I tried the plan I had adopted at Nootka & was more successful. Observing a mouse in one of the canoes I purchased it, & in the course of a few hours I was plentifully supplied with specimens of *Uria troile*, *Colymbus cornutus*, three species of *Mus*. No. 1: intestines with numerous convolutions, stomach capacious, liver bilobed, ears very short. No. 2: Tail longer than body, back brown, belly white, ears long, liver 5 lobed. No. 3 I did not dissect. As there is little doubt that some of these mice are non-descript it is much to be regretted that some of them were to[o] putrid to admit of a carefull dissection. I may here mention that I had an opportunity of removing all doubt as to the authenticity of the *Mus bursarus* of Shaw, as I saw a very fine specimen of it in the possession of Mr. Douglass.

The dissection of the *Colymbus cornutus* presented the following appearances: œsophagus wide & dilatable, & furnished with many longitudinal plicæ, which all terminate in a ring around the cardiac orifice of the stomach. The stomach is rather muscular, the internal surface furnished with many small glands. Gizzard very muscular. Convolutions of the intestines numerous. Liver consists of two large & nearly equal lobes.

This part of the coast appears to be extremely populous; in sailing down the straits from Tatooch to Port Discovery we never lost sight of the smoke of villages; & whenever

we came to anchor we had plenty of canoes around us. This numerous population is not to be wondered at when we consider the abundant means of support the country affords. The sea yields abundant supply of excellent fishes of the most agree[e]able kind, every rivulet teeming with myriads of salmon; & the land affords an endless variety of berries & esculent roots. The collecting of the latter forms the occupation of the women & children, while the men are employed in procuring the former, & both are carefully dried for winter stores. The sea fish they obtain are different kinds of *Pleuronectes*, *Mugil* & *Gadus*. About the beginning of October they abandon their summer residence near the shore & retreat into the interior of the country, where, in addition to their winter stock, they kill abundance of birds, especially of the duck tribe, & beaver, otters & elks, whose skins afford them comfortable cloathing or the means of procuring European articles. They return to the sea coast again in the beginning of April. This action[?] of the Indians explains the cause of the mistake into which the very accurate C. Vancouver fell, concerning the apparent depopulation of the coast, when we recollect[sic] that between the months of October & April the natives would be at their winter abode.

14th.—This morning we left Port Discovery, & as we were getting under way these friendly Indians came of[f] to us with fishes & birds, which we could not wait for. All the time we were among these Klallums the old chief Squastin visited us every morning, never neglecting to bring us a supply of provisions, for which he would receive no remuneration. His present consisted of berries of *G. Shallon*, shellfish, crabs, & in short, everything the country afforded.

On leaving these friendly people, we coasted along a beautifull country; the hills of moderate height & grad-

ual ascent; seemed better fitted for cultivation than any place N. of the Columbia we had yet visited. At this place two canoes came off[f] to us from the Nootka side. In one of them was a famous chief named Waskalatchy, who had wandered more over the N. W. coast than any Indian upon it. This chief readily agreed to accompany us up the straits, & in the evening we anchored in Strawberry Cove, Cypress Island.

15th August.—Since we anchored in this cove we have seen no Indians, but Waskalatchy informed us that there was a village a little to the N. E. of us. On obtaining this intelligence we fired a gun & in about an hour & a half we saw three canoes making for the ship. The Indians seemed to be under considerable apprehension & appeared to hesitate whether they should proceed or not. After a short consultation they came near to us, & we soon found means to dissipate their alarm. They seemed very poor & had nothing in their canoes but a seal & a few gulls.

In the afternoon when the canoes left us we had an opportunity of visiting Strawberry Cove; but, as evening was approaching, I had but little time to make observations. We landed on a fine smooth sandy beach, which was bounded on all sides by low & marshy ground, covered with *Scirpi* & *Carices*, & abounding in deer trails. Along the beach we found abundance of *Berberis Aquifolia* & *B. Nervosa*.

16th.—This afternoon we left Cypress Island & before sunset we anchored opposite an Indian village. This tribe of Indians is called the Lummie tribe, & are on terms of friendship with Klallums, & along with Squastin's people carry on a constant war with the people further up the straits.

These friendly savages made us a present of two fine beavers, which afforded us an agreeable repast after being so long confined to salmon. Our Klallum friends,

who had heard the report of our gun on the preceding day, arrived this evening & behaved as usual in the most peaceable manner.

17th.—These poor people continue to supply us with abundance of fish & berries & to accept with gratitude anything we please to give them. Our confidence in them was so great that we resolved to venture ashore. At the place where we landed a number of children who had been amusing themselves scampered off in great alarm. As soon as I got ashore my attention was occupied with some interesting plants which grew on the beach; among these plants was a *Solidago* & a beautiful specimen of *Artemisia*, but what pleased me most was the vast profusion of *Myosotis Hookeri*. In an extensive saline marsh I found a sp. of *Salicornia* & a fine *Arenaria*. During my herborising the Indians watched my motions with considerable curiosity, but what surprised them most was the captain's sextant, & enquired what was to be seen in the sun. They believed it to be some powerful medical charm by which we ascertained whether the Indians beyond them had many skins to dispose of or not.

18th.—In the afternoon we proceeded farther up the Gulph of Georgia & about 12 miles from the Lummie village we found another people, called the Saugtch Indians. These Indians sold us a few skins & behaved very peaceably. Their village is situated very near the shore, at the bottom of a white cliff. Many of the houses were taken down & they appeared to be occupied in removing to their winter quarters. One of the Indians had a small porpoise, on which I made some observations. It was very young, as the teeth were not very evident. The tongue fleshy, a margin like a duck's, œsophagus narrow, stomach very small, & the intestines were of a very small diameter, but their convolutions were very numerous. Rectum about

two feet long, & equalling in capacity the stomach. Lungs of both sides nearly two lobed. Ovum, granular.

The different tribes who inhabit De Fucas straits & the Gulph of Georgia, differ little in their features from the Cheenooks. The practice of flattening the heads of their children is universal. I could not ascertain any details of the nature of this process. They are more addicted to painting themselves than the natives of the Columbia are. The paints they use are red ochre, charcoal & powdered mica. They make regular lines on their faces with these powders, & when painted their appearance is very disagreeable. The quantity of grease they apply to their hair is prodigious, but we did not observe any of them powder their heads with the down of fowls, a custom so common at Nass & Nootka.

Their canoes are similar to those of the Cheenooks; but are very light & are ornamented with the teeth of some animal, probably the sea otter. The largest canoe we saw was one belonging to Squastin, which was capable of containing 30 men.

Their dresses are very various, but European cloathes are very scarce among them. Blankets of dogs' wool are very common, & although superior in durability to those of Europe, are far from being so comfortable. Robes from the skins of rac[c]oons [?] & elks were very common. All these dresses were attended with the inconvenience of personal exposure; some, however, had a dress which prevented this completely. It consisted of two pieces of a sort of leather prepared from the elks skin. These pieces reached from the neck to the ancles, & were sowed together down to the knee, forming a kind of shirt without sleeves. The women here, as well as on all other places on the coast, wore petticoats made of straw or bark. They are yet so fortunate as to have very few fire arms among them & iron is very scarce. Their bows are similar to those of

the Columbia Indians, & are frequently ornamented with the skins of serpents. The arrows are very short and are armed with barbed pieces of bone, about six inches long.

19th.—This morning we left the Saugteh Indians & anchored off[f] Point Roberts. The coast here has a very low marshy appearance, & is more abundantly covered with bushes & shrubs than any part of the coast we have seen. As the weather was rather blowy we did not venture to land, nor did any natives come off[f] to us, although three canoes & several Indians ashore.

20th.—As the weather was much improved this morning, the canoes came off[f] to us & proved to be our old acquaintances from Saugteh & Lummie. They said they came to warn us that we would soon be visited by two very powerful & dangerous tribes, the Cowitchen & Yakulta, who would surprise the vessel if possible & would poison the fish they sold us. This piece of policy on the part of these natives was easily detected. At every place from port Discovery to Point Roberts the Indians had endeavoured to prejudice us against the natives farther up the Gulph, & [to get us] to join them in an expedition against the Cowitchen & Yakultas. To their advice we paid little attention, as it only proved the inveterate hatred that prevailed among the different tribes.

The canoes had not left us long when those [of] the Cowitchen & their allies appeared, & we were soon convinced that they were as friendly & peac[e]able as any of the tribes we had yet seen.

Before mid[d]ay we ventured ashore & I had a short time to examine the productions of this part of the coast. Point Roberts consists of an extensive flat marsh, bounded towards the sea by a slightly elevated beach, formed probably by the accumulation of drift wood, which was very abundant here. The interior of the marsh was impenetrable on account of its semifluid, consistence & the abund-

ance of *Scirpus lacustris*, growing to the height of 6 or 7 feet. Nearer the shore the soil consisted of a mixture of sand and peat, formed by the action of the sea & the decay of the *musci* which abounded here. The bay abounded in *Scirpi carices* & other aquatic grasses. In the dry sandy margins I found *Spiræa salicifolia* *Guaphalium*, 2 sp. *Oenothera biennis*. The drift wood along the beach abounded with *Coluber*. They were perfectly harmless & the ground seemed a mass of serpents. One could not overturn any piece of old wood without dislodging from 18 to 20 of them.

23d.—The fresh taste of the water, although we were three miles from the shore, seemed to indicate the vicinity of large rivers. As this was the grand object of our enquiries, the long boat was dispatched & on its return in the evening confirmed our suspicions. The river is shut up from the access of vessels for a great way by sand banks & has not more than 6 feet water at its mouth.

24th.—The Cowitchen chief, Chapea, came on board to inform us that a part[y] of white people from the Columbia were in search of us, & that we would soon see them in three canoes. We were at first inclined to give a little attention to the report, but when he further informed us that two vessels had entered the straits, we were convinced that his object was to sell us news when his skins were disposed of.

Chapea had in his retinue an Indian deeply marked with smallpox & was the only individual we had seen on the N. W. coast with this disease. The rarity of such an occurrence at once indicates the fatality of the disease & the dread they entertain of it. This epidemic broke out among them in 17— & soon depopulated the eastern coast of America, & those on the Columbia were not secure behind the Rocky Mountains, & the ravages of the disease were only bounded by the Pacific Ocean. The Cheenooks

to the present time speak of it with horror, & are exceedingly anxious to obtain that medicine which protects the whites, meaning vaccination. Such is the dread of this disease that when about to plunder the tribes of the interior, they have been deterred by the threat of disseminating smallpox among them. It is, I believe, the benevolent intention of the H. B. Company to send missionaries among these untutored Indians; nothing would enable them to gain the goodwill of the Indians so much as introducing vaccination, & no gift would be more gratefully received.

25th.—We made another excursion to point Roberts. There was a pretty large party of Indians on the beach but they did not come near us, but I did not hesitate in going near them & employed a young man as a sort of assistant in my excursion. In this excursion I found a greater variety of plants than on the former, but none of them happened to be so new or interesting. *Bidens*, *Galium*, *Polygonum hydropiperoides*, *Sparganium*, *Typha latifolia*.

26th.—The object of our voyage up the Gulph of Georgia being now accomplished, we set out on our return to the Columbia & in the evening anchored off the Lummie village, when our old friend Sahumkan [?] came on board. At this place we were plentifully supplied with fish & berries. Such is the abundance of provisions up the straits that since we anchored in Port Protection we have not had to use any salt provisions. The people have been plentifully supplied with salmon, & the supplies of the cabin have been often varied by ducks, venison & beaver.

In the afternoon we went ashore to visit the chief at his village, but found he was absent; his people, however, behaved with the greatest propriety & kindness. The village is situated at the extremity of a fine forest, under the shade of some large trees. Their lodges were about

20 & the number of inhabitants was probably about 300. The houses were constructed of planks of fir & cedar, & thatched with *Typha latifolia*. Near the shore there were several large shades erected for drying salmon, & from the immense quantities of dry fish we saw, there was little probability they would experience any of the horrors of famine the ensuing winter. The method they adopt of curing the salmon is very simple; the intestines are taken out & the spine & the remaining part of the fish is exposed to the sun. No salt is ever used by the Indians.

27th.—We went ashore again this forenoon to make a short botanical excursion. We found the Indians busily employed in removing their provisions & furniture, even to the boards of their houses, to their winter quarters, which were a little way into the interior. My botanising was very unfortunate & I was about to go on board without a single plant; on advancing a little farther into the woods, I had the good fortune to find a fine species of *Sanicula*. On examining this plant I found it to differ from any of the sp. of *Sanicula* I was acquainted with. From the down on the lower part of the stem & on the leaves it may be called *S. tomentosa*.

28th.—Towards evening we were becalmed of[f] Tautoche & several canoes came of[f] to us with salmon & halibut. One man ventured on board, though with much apprehension. The reason of his terror was that he had been carried of[f] & sold as a slave by an American ship. We were already aware that such things had been done by an American vessel, but we had not seen any of his victims before. This villain, whose name is Ayres, once entered the Columbia & carried of[f] 12 men, seven of them, however, escaped by stealing the boat & making for the shore.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

SKETCH OF A JOURNEY TO THE NORTH- WESTERN PARTS OF THE CONTI- NENT OF NORTH AMERICA

DURING THE YEARS 1824-'25-'26-'27.

**With Comment on the Results of Douglas' First Visit and Letters
of Douglas Giving Plans and Preparations for a
Second Visit to the Columbia.**

By DAVID DOUGLAS, F. L. S.

*Reprinted from "The Companion to the Botanical Magazine," Volume II,
London, 1836.*

IV.

DOUGLAS' JOURNEY TO HUDSON'S BAY.

On the 20th of March, 1827, by the annual express, and in company with Dr. McLoughlin, I started for England from Fort Vancouver, a place where, if I had spent not many comfortable days, yet some such happy ones, that though I hailed the prospect of returning to my native land, I confess I could not quit such an interesting country without much regret. I walked the whole distance to Fort Cohite [Colville] on the Kettle Falls, which occupied twenty-five days, not one of which passed without presenting to my notice something of interest, either in Botany or Zoology. The beautiful *Erythronium grandiflorum* and *Claytonia lanceolata* were in full bloom among the snow.

On the 18th of April Mr. E——, with seven men and myself, took our departure from the Kettle Falls to the Rocky Mountains early in the morning. Nothing of importance occurred; we entered the Lower Lake on Friday the 20th, and used our sail, the wind being so favourable

that we reached the termination of the Upper Lake on Sunday the 22d. Twenty-eight miles above this place, where the river takes a sudden bend, and to all appearance is lost in the mountains, a scene of the most terrific grandeur presents itself; the whole torrent is confined to the breadth of thirty-five yards, and tossed in rapids, whirlpools, and eddies; on both sides are mountains towering to the height of six or eight thousand feet from their base, rising with perpendicular precipices from the very bed of the river, covered with dead timber of enormous growth, the roots of which, laid bare by the torrents, and now hurled by the violence of the wind from their original high places, come hurrying down the stream, bringing enormous fragments of earth attached to their roots, and spreading devastation all before them. The sun feebly tipped the mountain-tops as we passed this place, and, seen through the shadowy pines, imparted a melancholy air to the whole gloomy scene.

On the 25th we passed the "Narrows of Death," a terrific place in the river, which takes its name from a tragical circumstance which I have not here room to relate, when ten individuals endured almost unparalleled sufferings, and were finally all released by death, with the exception of one. At noon on the 27th of April we had the satisfaction of landing at the Boat Encampment at the base of the Rocky Mountains. How familiar soever these snowy mountains have been to us, so that we might be expected to lose an adequate idea of their immense altitude, yet on beholding the Grand "*Dividing Ridge*" of this mighty continent, all that we have seen before seems to fade from the mind, and to be forgotten in the contemplation of their height and indescribably rugged and sharp peaks, with the darkness of the rocks, their glaciers and eternal snows.

The principal branch of the Columbia is here sixty yards wide, the Canoe River forty, and the middle one, on whose banks we ascend, is thirty.

On Saturday, the 28th, having packed the whole of my journals in a tin box, and carrying a case of seeds and a shirt or two, tied up in a bundle, we commenced our march across the mountains in an easterly direction, first entering a low swampy piece of ground, about three miles long, knee-deep of water, and covered with rotten ice, through which we sank more than a foot down at every step we took. Then we crossed a deep muddy creek, and entered a point of wood, principally consisting of *Pine*, *P. balsamea*, *nigra alba*, and *Strobus*, together with *Thuja plicata*. About eleven we entered the snow, which was four to seven feet deep, moist and soft, which, together with the fallen timber, made walking in snow-shoes very fatiguing. We camped that night on the West side of the middle branch of the Columbia. Except two species of Squirrel, we saw no animals.

Sunday, the 29th, min. heat 23°, max. 43°. After a sound and refreshing night's rest, we started at four this morning, proceeding for six miles due East, in the course of which we made as many traverses or fordings of the river, which was two and a half to three feet deep, clear, and with a powerful current. Though the breadth did not exceed twenty-five to fifty yards, the length of time passed in the water was considerable, for the feet can not with safety be lifted from the bottom, as if once the water gets under the soles of the feet, which should be glided along to prevent this, over goes the whole person. In very powerful currents it is necessary to pass in a body, and the one supporting the other, in an oblique direction. Then we came to a level valley, three miles broad, dry at this season, but during the summer forming an inland lake, bounded by the mountains. Our course was afterwards

due east for four miles, and in this short distance we made seven fordings more. We did not require snow-shoes here, as there was a fine hard solid crust, but on coming out of the water and trotting along on the hoar-frost, we found it intensely cold, and all our clothing that was wet, immediately became cased with ice; still no inconvenience of any consequence was sustained. About nine we entered another point of wood, where we had recourse to our snow-shoes, and finding the snow becoming quite soft towards noon, we camped for the day, having travelled fifteen miles. *Panax horrida* (Hook. Fl. Bor. Am. t. 98), a *Dryas*, and a *Betula*, were the only plants I had added to my catalogue; at night a large Wolverine came to our camp to steal, for which he was shot. We saw great numbers of *Anas Canadensis*, and one female of *Tetrao Canadensis*.

On Monday, the 30th, the heat was just the same as the day before; our elevation was seven hundred feet above the river. The route lay through a wood and a valley precisely similar to those we had passed yesterday, and during a walk of two miles and a half we were obliged to ford the river seven times, keeping in a direct line from point to point. Four more miles, and as many times crossing the river, brought us to the termination of this platform or valley, and here the stream parts into two branches, the larger one flowing from the North, the other from due East. We crossed at the angle between the two streams, and commenced our ascent of the Big Hill. The snow being so deep, at least six feet, the markings on the trees which indicated the path were frequently hid, and we found it no easy matter to keep the track. The steep ascent, the deep gullies, the brushwood and fallen timber, rendered walking very labourious. We encamped two miles up the hill, having gained five miles to-day. The

timber gradually becoming smaller, no new plants or animals were added to our store.

May 1st, Tuesday.—This morning the thermometer stood at 2° below Zero, and the maximum heat at noon was 44°! We continued ascending, and had the satisfaction at ten to reach the summit, where we made a short pause to rest ourselves, and then descended the eastern side of the Big Hill to a small, round, open piece of ground, through which flowed the smaller or East branch of the river, being the same as we had left yesterday at the western base of the Big Hill. To the right is a small point of low stunted wood of *Pinus nigra alba* and *Banksiana*. Near this place we started at mid-day a fine male specimen of *Tetra Franklinii*, which I preserved with great care. Being well rested by one o'clock, I set out with the view of ascending what seemed to be the highest peak on the North. Its height does not seem to be less than 16,000 or 17,000 feet above the level of the sea. After passing over the lower ridge, I came to about 1,200 feet of by far the most difficult and fatiguing walking I ever experienced, and the utmost care was required to tread safely over the crust of snow. A few mosses and lichens, *Andreae* and *Jungermannia*, are observable, but at the elevation of 4,800 feet vegetation no longer exists; not so much as a *lichen* is found in a tract of 1,200 feet of eternal ice. The view from the summit is of too awful a cast to afford pleasure. Nothing can be seen, in every direction, as far as the eye can reach except mountains, towering above each other, rugged beyond all description; while the dazzling reflection from the snow, the heavenly azure of the solid glaciers with the rainbow tints of their shattered fragments, and the enormous icicles suspended from the perpendicular rocks, and the majestic but terrible avalanches hurling themselves from the more exposed southerly rocks, produced a crash and groaned through the

distant valleys with a sound only equalled by that of an earthquake. Such scenes give a sense of the stupendous and wonderful works of the Almighty. This peak, the highest yet known in the Northern Continent of America, I felt sincere pleasure in naming "Mount Brown," in honour of R. Brown, Esq., the illustrious Botanist, a man no less distinguished by the amiable qualities of his mind than by his scientific attainments. A little to the southward is one nearly of the same height rising into a sharper point; this I named "Mount Hooker," in honour of my early patron, the Professor of Botany in the University of Glasgow. This mountain, however, I was not able to climb. A species of *Menziesia* [?], *Andromeda hypnoides*, *Gentiana*, *Lycopodium alpinum*, *Salix herbacea*, *Empetrum*, *Juncus biglumis*, and *triglumis* were among the last of the phænogamous plants which I observed.

Wednesday, the 2d.—At three o'clock I felt the cold so much, and the thermometer only stood at 2° below Zero, that I was obliged to rise and enliven the fire to get myself comfortably warmed before starting. Through three hundred yards of gradually rising, open, low Pine woods we passed, and about the same distance of open ground took us to the basin of this mighty river—a small circular lake, twenty yards in diameter, in the center of the valley, with a small outlet on the West end, namely, the Columbia, and another at the east end, namely, one of the branches of the Athabasca, which must itself be considered one of the tributaries of the Mackenzie River. This is not the only fact of two opposite streams flowing from the same lake. This, "*the Committee's Punch Bowl*," is considered as being half way, and we were quite glad to know that the more labourious and arduous part of our journey was accomplished. The little stream, the Athabasca, over which we had stepped so conveniently, presently assumed a considerable size, and was dashed over cascades and

formed cauldrons of limestone and basalt. Seven miles below the pass, as do the tributaries of the Columbia on the western side, so the Athabasca widens into a narrow lake, and has a much greater distance than the Columbia. At this point the snow had nearly disappeared, and the temperature was greatly increased. Many of the mountains on the right hand are at all seasons tipped with glaciers. At ten we stopped to breakfast, fifteen miles from the ridge, where we remained for four hours. The thermometer stood at 2° below Zero this morning, and had risen to 57° at two P. M., a heat which we found dreadfully oppressive. This afternoon, having set off a little before the party, I missed my way and wandered from the path. As the sun was edging on the mountains I descried about a mile off to the East, behind a low knoll, a curling blue smoke rising from above the trees, a sign which gave me infinite pleasure. I quickened my steps and soon came up to it, when I found Jacques Cardinal, who came to the Moose Encampment, and brought with him eight horses to help us on our way. He treated me to an excellent supper of mutton, the flesh of *Avis montana* (Geoff.), and regretted he had no spirits to offer me. Pointing to the stream, he jocularly said, "there's my barrel, and it is always running." The kind fellow also offered me a part of his hut.

On the next morning, Thursday, the 3d, the whole party were brought up by Cardinal; they had been very uneasy at my nonappearance the preceding night. We breakfasted and proceeded by the banks of the stream, I preferring walking, though the ground was still soft from the recently melted snow, and strewn with timber of small size. The difference of climate and soil, with the amazing disparity in the variety and stature of the vegetation, is truly astonishing; one would suppose it was another hemisphere, the change is so sudden and so great. We crossed

the principal branch of the Athabasca, which becomes a river seventy yards broad, when joined by the stream on the banks of which we had descended. Here it was our intention to camp for the night, but Cardinal found his horses so unexpectedly strong, that the route was continued to the Rocky Mountains' House where we were to find canoes, and which we gained soon after six p. m. Several partridges were killed, but the only plant new to me this day was *Anemone Nuttalliana* (*A. patens*, Hook.), which was in full flower. The scenery here is very fine, with a small lake and open valley, commanding a sublime prospect of the mountains. Our distance to-day was thirty-four miles. On the following day (Friday) we embarked at daylight in two fine light birch canoes, and went rapidly before the stream, the banks of which are low and woody, in some places narrow, in others widening into narrow lakes full of sands and shoals. We stayed to breakfast on a small low island in the Upper Lake, where we had some mountain sheep's flesh, given us by Cardinal's hunter. Continuing our route, we passed a ridge of steep mountains on the right, and five miles lower down a similar range to the left, which are the termination of the dividing mountains on the East side, and arrived at Jasper House at two p. m. The minimum heat to-day had been 29° , the maximum 61° .

Saturday, the 8th.—This day presented scarcely any variety. The river is one hundred to one hundred and forty yards wide, shallow and rapid, with low gravelly banks, wooded with *Poplars* and *Pines*. Its vicinity abounds with wild fowl, and the Northern Diver charmed us with his deep mellow melancholy voice in the evenings. Our progress was ninety-three miles. The following morning we had gained but three miles when we were detained by the ice, and here we found Mr. G. McDougall. We got on slowly, owing to a portage, where the canoes had to be

carried a considerable distance to a place where the main channel was clear, after which we proceeded rapidly and arrived at Assinaboyne, one hundred and eighty-four miles from Jasper House, the next day. But as this place afforded us but little food, we pushed on without delay for Lesser Slave Lake, where we hoped to meet Mr. J. Stewart, who received us there with the utmost kindness, and showed me in particular so much attention that I travelled partly with the Brigade, and latterly alone with a single guide on foot to Fort Edmonton, on the Saskatchewan River, which I reached on Monday the 21st. On the plains I killed several Curlews, and in the woods a number, both male and female, of *Tetrao Phasianellus*, the *Pin-tailed Grouse* of Edwards, with abundance of *T. Canadensis*. From May 21st to the 31st, I spent my time in exploring the country round Edmonton House, which is woody and interesting; after which I embarked in Mr. Stewart's boat for Carlston House. This mode of travelling gave me little time to botanize; I could only do so during the breakfast hour in the morning, and just before encamping in the dusk of evening, except when a halt was made for the purpose of hunting Buffalo and Red Deer. In some parts the scenery around the river is very varied and picturesque, especially near the Red Deer and Eagle Hills. The soil is dry and light, but not unfertile, with a rich herbage, belts and clumps of wood interspersed, which give it a most romantic appearance. Near this place many *Buffalo* were killed, with a few *Red Deer* and *Antelopes of the Plains*. This latter animal has so much curiosity that he will approach within a hundred yards of the hunter, particularly if the latter wears anything red, a colour which is sure to attract him. The *Buffalo* is easily killed by a skilful person. Among a variety of plants that I had not seen before were *Astragalus pectinatus* (*Phaca pectinata*, Hook. Fl. Bor. Am. v. 1, t. 54),

and *Drummondii* (Hook. Fl. Bor. Am. v. 1, t. 57), *Phlox Hoodii*, *Thermopsis rhombifolia* (Hook. Fl. Bor. Am. v. 1, t. 47), *Hedysarum Mackenzii*, *Astragalus succulentus* (Bot. Reg. t. 1324), *A. Caryocarpus* (Bot. Reg. t. 176), and seven species of *Salix*. On one of these hunting excursions, Mr. F. McDonald was dreadfully injured by a wounded Buffalo Bull, which shockingly lacerated his left thigh, broke his ribs, dislocated his left wrist, and otherwise severely bruised him. These animals have a propensity not to destroy life at once, but to delight in torturing their victim. On first striking the object of their vengeance, if he be stunned or feign death, there is a chance of escape, the creature meanwhile lying down beside him, and watching with a steadfast eye for the slightest motion, in which case he instantly rises and gives another blow. Poor McDonald was thus situated for two hours and a half, bleeding and at the point of death, and that too under cloud of night, which afforded us scarcely any opportunity of rescuing him, for the animal lay watching within a few yards, and we were afraid to fire, lest a shot should strike our friend. By the activity of Mr. Heriot and my assistance, he was, however, saved. I bound up his wounds, and gave him all the aid that a small medicine chest and my slender knowledge of surgery would suggest. Hence we passed hastily onwards in hope of meeting Dr. Richardson, but on our arrival found that he had gone to Cumberland House. At Carlton House I had the pleasure of meeting with Mr. Drummond¹ of Capt. Franklin's party, who had spent the greater part of his time in exploring the Rocky Mountains contiguous to the sources of the rivers Athabasca and Columbia, where he had made a princely collection. I had intended to cross the plains from this place to Swan and Red Rivers, but the hostile

¹Mr. Drummond's Journal of that expedition is given at page 178 of the first volume of our "Botanical Miscellany."

disposition of the Stone Indians rendered it unsafe. I therefore descended to Cumberland House, where I found Dr. Richardson, who kindly showed me portions of the noble collection in Natural History made during the expedition. This part of the country has been so well described in the former narrative of Capt. (now Sir John) Franklin, that little is left for me to say respecting it, and I shall merely notice my stages. After leaving Cumberland House, two days took us to the Grand Rapid, the entrance of Lake Winipeg, where we were detained by the ice. A few hours after it became rotten, sank and disappeared, leaving an open sheet of water through which we sailed to Norway House. The shores of this lake are clothed with diminutive trees, *Pinus alba*, *nigra*, *microcarpa*, *Populus trepida*, *Betula papyracea* and *nigra*, and sphagnous swamps of *Ledum*, *Kalmiæ*, and *Andromeda*, together with a strong herbage of various species of *Carex*, near the springs or pools. On the 16th we arrived at Norway House, where I found letters from England. The following day Mr. Simpson, the Resident Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, came, and I received great kindness from him; and after I had spent several days at Norway House, Capt. Sir J. Franklin made his appearance and most politely offered me a passage in his canoe through the lake as far as the mouth of Winipeg River, on my way to Red River, which I gladly accepted. At this period, such an opportunity of saving time was most valuable, as I thus gained twelve days on the usual time required for performing the trip. Captain Franklin left me for England on the 9th of July, and on the following day I proceeded to the settlement on the Red River, which I reached on the 12th. I took up my abode with D. McKenzie, Esq., Governor of the Colony, a most kind and excellent man, who during my whole stay showed me great hospitality, and afforded me much valuable assist-

ance. Mr. McKenzie's knowledge of the country, particularly to the West of the Rocky Mountains, where he had spent many years, was particularly useful to me. I had also the pleasure to make the acquaintance of the Rev. David Jones and R. W. Cochrane, at the English Mission House, an admirable establishment, which owes much of its value to the unremitting care and zeal of these gentlemen, whose lives are devoted to the charge of the little flock over which they are called to preside. It was also a pleasure to me to become acquainted with the Rev. J. N. Provenchier, the worthy Catholic Bishop, a person of liberal disposition and highly cultivated mind, who lives only to be useful and good. The soil is exceedingly fertile, capable of bearing any kind of produce, being a deep alluvial stratum of brown loam over a gravel or limestone bottom. The settlers here live comfortably, and seem happy. The crops are liable to be attacked by grasshoppers, but the wheat is exempted from smut and rust. Cattle thrive well, as do pigs and horses; sheep had not then been introduced. During a month's residence here, I formed a small Herbarium of two hundred and eighty-eight species, many of them new to me, and the more interesting, because, if I had staid with Dr. Richardson or Mr. Drummond on the Saskatchewan, I should probably have added hardly any thing to the Flora of the country. With Mr. Hamlyn, the surgeon of the colony, I set off and had rather a tedious passage through the lake. Arriving at York Factory, Hudson's Bay, I was kindly received by J. G. McTavish, Esq., the Chief Factor, who had the goodness to order some travelling equipments for me, my own stock being completely worn out.

Here ended my labours, and I may be allowed to state, that when the natural difficulties of passing through a new country are taken into view, with the hostile disposition of the native tribes, and the almost insuperable in-

conveniences that daily occur, I have great reason to consider myself a highly favoured individual. All that my feeble exertions may have effected, only stimulate me to fresh exertions. The whole of my botanical collections, with the exception of some few, were, agreeably with my anxious wishes, given for publication in the forthcoming North American Flora of Dr. Hooker. I sailed from Hudson's Bay on the 15th of September, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 11th of the following month.

D. DOUGLAS.

EDITORIAL COMMENT BY SIR WM. J. HOOKER.

Thus happily terminated Mr. Douglas' first adventurous journey in North America, a journey extending from the Pacific to the source of the Columbia River, and thence to the Atlantic Ocean. Among the many dangers to which he was exposed, was that one recorded by Mr. Drummond (who, with Capt. Back [Black ?] and Lieu't Kendal, was of the party), in the first volume of the "Botanical Miscellany" (p. 216); when in a small open boat in Hudson's Bay, they encountered so dreadful a storm, and were so short of provisions, that their escape seemed little short of a miracle. Mr. Douglas in particular suffered severely, and was confined to his bed during the greater part of the voyage home. It was fortunate that he directed his scientific researches chiefly to the western side of the Rocky Mountains; for, during the very time he was carrying on his investigations there, his countrymen, Dr. Richardson and Mr. Drummond, were exploring the territories to the eastward of that vast stretch of the Cordillera: the former chiefly in the Arctic regions, the latter in nearly the same parallels of latitude with Mr. Douglas; and the result of their combined exertions has been a mass of collections that have thrown a new light on the Natural History of

those interesting regions, and have supplied the materials for Dr. Richardson's inestimable works on the *Quadrupeds*, *Birds*, (in which he was assisted by Mr. Swainson), and *Fishes* of that country, as well as that which is preparing on the Insects by Mr. Kirby; and of our *Flora Boreali-Americana*. These will constitute a lasting memorial of Mr. Douglas' zeal and abilities; whilst not only in this country, but throughout Europe, and in the United States of America, there is scarcely a spot of ground deserving the name of a Garden, which does not owe many of its most powerful attractions to the living roots and seeds which have been sent by him to the Horticultural Society of London.² Dr. Lindley has favoured me with the following list of species which have thus been introduced by him, the greater proportion of which are figured in the *Botanical Register*, and have now become common in our gardens.

LIST OF PLANTS

Introduced by Mr. Douglas in 1826-27.

Abronia mellifera.	Caprifolium hispidulum.
Acer circinnatum.	Castilleja coccinea.
— macrophyllum.	Chelone nemorosa.
Amelanchier florida.	Clarekia elegans.
Anemone Hudsoniana.	— gauroides.
Arbutus procera.	— pulchella.
— tomentosa.	Clematis Virginiana.
Astragalus succulentus.	Clintonia elegans.
Benthamia lycopsioides.	— pulchella.
Berberis Aquifolium.	Collomia grandiflora.
— glumacea.	— bellidifolia.
Brodiaea congesta.	— gracilis.
— grandiflora.	— linearis.
Calochortus macrocarpus.	— pinnatifida.
— nov. sp.	Collinsia bicolor.
Caprifolium Douglasii.	— grandiflora.
— ciliosum.	— parviflora.

²A young friend of ours, who has lately (summer of 1836) visited Hammerfest in Norway, the most northern town in the world, in latitude 71°, saw the *Clarekia pulchella* cultivated in pots in the windows of the apartments and very much prized.

- Coreopsis Atkinsoniana*.
Cornus alba.
Cratægus Douglasii.
Delphinium Menziesii.
Donia villosa.
Epilobium minimum.
Eriogonum compositum.
 — *nudum*.
Eriophyllum cæspitosum.
Erythronium grandiflorum.
Eschscholtzia Californica.
Eutoca divaricata.
 — *multiflora*.
 — *viscida*.
Gaillardia aristata.
Garrya elliptica.
Gaultheria Shallon.
Geranium Carolinianum.
Gilia achilleæfolia.
 — *capitata*.
 — *pungens*.
 — *splendens*.
 — *tricolor*.
Helianthus lenticularis.
Helonias tenax.
Heuchera micrantha.
Horkelia congesta.
Hosackia bicolor.
Hyssopus urticæfolius.
Ipomopsis elegans.
Iris tenax.
Lathyrus Californicus.
Lilium pudicum.
Linum Lewisii.
 — *Sibiricum*.
Lupinus arbustus.
 — *albifrons*.
 — *aridus*.
 — *bicolor*.
 — *densiflorus*.
 — *flexuosus*.
 — *grandiflorus*.
 — *hirsutissimus*.
 — *laxiflorus*.
 — *leptophyllus*.
Lupinus lepidus.
 — *leucophyllus*.
 — *littoralis*.
 — *lucidus*.
 — *micranthus*.
 — *nanus*.
 — *ornatus*.
 — *polyphyllus*.
 — *var. albex*.
 — *plumosus*.
 — *rivularis*.
 — *succulentus*.
 — *tristis*.
 — *Sabinianus*.
Malva Munroana.
Mimulus Cardinalis.
 — *floribundus*.
 — *guttatus*.
 — *moschatus*.
 — *roseus*.
Nemophila insignis.
Nicotiana multivalvis.
(Enothera albicaulis.
 — *decumbens (pallida L.)*.
 — *dentata*.
 — *lepida*.
 — *Lindleyana*.
 — *muricata*.
 — *quadrivulnera*.
 — *rubricunda*.
 — *viminea*.
 — *vinosa*.
Pentstemon acuminatum.
 — *attenuatum*.
 — *confertum*.
 — *deustum*.
 — *diffusum*.
 — *glandulosum*.
 — *gracile*.
 — *ovatum (pruinoseum)*.
 — *Richardsoni*.
 — *Scouleri*.
 — *speciosum*.
 — *staticæfolium*.
 — *triphyllum*.

Phlox speciosa.	Ribes petiolare.
Pinus Douglasii.	— sanguineum.
— Lamberti.	— setosum.
— ponderosa.	— speciosum.
Potentilla arachnoidea.	— tenuiflorum.
— arguta.	— viscosissimum.
— effusa.	Rubus leucodermis.
— glandulosa.	— leucostachys.
— obscura.	— longipetalis.
— pectinata.	— Nutkanus.
Prunus depressa.	— spectabilis.
Pyrola rivularis.	Scilla (Camassia) esculenta.
Ribes cereum.	Sida malvæflora.
— divaricatum.	Silene inamæna.
— glutinosum.	Spergula ramosissima.
— echinatum.	Spiræa Americana.
— irriguum.	— ariaefolia.
— lacustre.	— Aruncus.
— malvaceum.	Symphoria racemosa.
— niveum.	Tanacetum boreale.

Qualified, as Mr. Douglas undoubtedly was, for a traveller, and happy as he unquestionably found himself in surveying the wonders of Nature in its grandest scale, in conciliating the friendship (a faculty he eminently possessed) of the untutored Indians, and in collecting the productions of the new countries he explored; it was quite otherwise with him during his stay in his native land. It was, no doubt, gratifying to be welcomed by his former acquaintances, after so perilous yet so successful a journey, and to be flattered and caressed by new ones; and this was perhaps the amount of his pleasures, which were succeeded by many, and, to his sensitive mind, grievous disappointments. Mr. Booth remarks, in his letter to me on this subject, "I may here observe, that his appearance one morning in the autumn of 1827, at the Horticultural Society's Garden, Turnham Green, was hailed by no one with more delight than myself, who chanced to be among the first to welcome him on his arrival, as I was among the last to bid him adieu on his departure.

His company was now courted, and unfortunately for his peace of mind he could not withstand the temptation (so natural to the human heart) of appearing as one of the *Lions* among the learned and scientific men in London; to many of whom he was introduced by his friend and patron, Mr. Sabine. Flattered by their attention, and by the notoriety of his botanical discoveries, which were exhibited at the meetings of the Horticultural Society, or published in the leading periodicals of the day, he seemed for a time as if he had obtained the summit of his ambition. But alas! when the novelty of his situation had subsided, he began to perceive that he had been pursuing a shadow instead of a reality." As some further compensation for his meritorious services, the Council of the Horticultural Society agreed to grant him the profits which might accrue from the publication of the *Journal of his Travels*, in the preparation of which for the press he was offered the assistance of Mr. Sabine and Dr. Lindley; and Mr. Murray of Albemarle-Street was consulted on the subject. But this proffered kindness was rejected by Mr. Douglas, and he had thoughts of preparing the *Journal* entirely himself. He was, however, but little suited for the undertaking, and accordingly, although he laboured at it during the time he remained in England, we regret to say, he never completed it. His temper became more sensitive than ever, and himself restless and dissatisfied; so that his best friends could not but wish, as he himself did, that he were again occupied in the honorable task of exploring North-west America. The Hudson's Bay Company, as upon the former occasion, made a most liberal offer of assistance, and it was resolved that he should go again to the Columbia River, partly at the expense of the Horticultural Society and partly with assistance of the Colonial Office; for his geographical observations and the friendship of Mr. Sabine had recommended him to the

brother of this latter gentleman, Capt. Sabine, who showed at all times the utmost kindness, made him known to the Colonial Office, gave him most important instructions at the Greenwich Observatory, and found in him so apt and so grateful a pupil, that a cordial friendship was established, which continued to the last. The original plan of his route was communicated to me by Mr. Douglas, in a letter bearing date —

LONDON, *August 6, 1829.*

“I am sure you will be glad to know that my anticipated journey has been laid before the Council, and approved of; so that I go, God willing, on the 15th of September, by the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Ship *Eagle*. My plans must be a separate communication, but just let me say, that my principal objects are to make known the vegetable treasures of the Interior of California, from the northern boundaries of Mexico, near the head of the Gulf. The botanical productions of Rio Colorado and other streams, totally unknown in Europe, will, I trust, ere many years, be as familiar as those of the Columbia. The government provides me with every instrument which Capt. Sabine, as Secretary of the Royal Society thinks may be of use. These consist of sextants, chronometers, barometers, thermometers, hygrometers, compasses of all sorts, instruments for magnetic intensity, dip of the magnetic needle, all of which can be used with such accuracy, as will render my journey, as I trust, not the journey of a commonplace tourist.

“I am not quite certain, but that when I have completed my expedition on the Continent of America, I may cross to the opposite shore, and return in a southerly line, near the Russian frontier with China. What a glorious prospect! Thus not only the plants, but a series of observations may be produced, the work of the same individual on both Continents, with the same instruments, under similar circumstances and in corresponding latitudes! I hope I do not indulge my hopes too far. I shall try to set a hundred pairs of feet and as many pairs of hands to work for me, and shall make them grub up and bring me all they can find. People tell me that Siberia is like a rat-trap, which there is no difficulty in entering, but from which it is not so easy to find egress. I mean at least to put this saying to the test. And I hope that those who know me know also that trifles will not stop me. I am glad to learn you are coming to England before I go that I may see you once more. I shall be greatly obliged if you would purchase for me a Bible, in 2 vols. 8vo., with a good bold legible type and notes of reference, or more properly speaking, marginal notes. I cannot see to read small type, and have been unable to find such an one in London, but I know there is a Scotch edition of the kind which I describe. I intend

to procure the skulls of dogs, wolves, and bears for Scouler; but *none of men*, for fear he should make a second voyage to the Northwest coast, and find mine bleached in some canoe, 'because I stole from the dead,' as my old friends on the Columbia would say."

Mr. Douglas here refers to Dr. Scouler's having carried away from the Columbia River, the preserved skulls of two Chinooks, on account of the singular mode in which, by compressing the frontal bone in infancy, the heads of these people are made to assume a conical, almost sugar-loaf appearance. The indignation of the natives was much roused on this occasion, and Dr. Scouler would probably have met with very rough treatment, if he had not deferred this robbery for the sake of science to the very night previous to the vessel's sailing from the Columbia River, by which he was carried out of the reach of their resentment.

Extracts from two other letters, now before me, written previous to his departure, will perhaps be read with interest; and if it shall appear that I have suffered any passage to come before the public which was only intended for a private communication, I trust that my motive in so doing will not be attributed to personal vanity, but to the real cause—my desire to commemorate the generosity of Mr. Douglas' heart and his grateful disposition whenever any act of kindness was shown him:

GREENWICH, *Sept. 14, 1829.*

"I am exceedingly engaged in my preparations, and will soon be ready. The vessel is to sail not later than the end of this month, which delights me amazingly. I go under most comfortable circumstances, and am certainly very happy. All my instruments are ready, save the chronometer, which I hope to be in possession of in a few days, all packed and ready to be sent on board ship at an hour's notice. Nothing pleases me so much as the addition of £20, which has been given me by the Colonial Office; I asked for £60 to provide books, tables, and charts, and they sent £80, as also some instruments, which, though previously used by other persons, are in perfectly good order. I ought to think myself a very lucky fellow, for indeed every person seems to take more interest than another in assisting me. I possess a beautiful assortment of barometers, so constructed that, comparatively

speaking, there is scarcely any liability of derangement, an object of most desirable attainment in these instruments. I shall combine observations accurately made with the hygrometer on different altitudes on the mountains and in different latitudes, which will, I trust, furnish you with information that can be confidently relied upon, and which will effect much in illustrating the Geography of Plants. I shall take great care of Fuci. You have heard from Dr. Mertens,³ who doubtless told you of his splendid voyage. He possesses the gigantic seaweed of which I spoke, and has named it *Fucus Lutkeanus*, after the captain of the vessel. I spent ten days with Captain Lutke here, and was highly pleased with him: he gave me letters to Baron Wrangell, Governor of the Russian Colonies in America, and of the Aleutian Isles, as also circulars to Siberia. The Baron is a man of vast information, and joins heart and hand with all those who have scientific views. I spent a few days with Dr. Mertens, and would gladly have accompanied him to Sheerness to see his drawings, had I the time to spare. He tells me that he found a second species of shrubby *Pyrola*, a more robust plant than yours.⁴ The expedition did not touch lower down on the coast than Norfolk Sound, and I should conceive that most of their plants (indeed Dr. Mertens said so, for I showed him all mine) are very different from those collected either by Capt. Beechey's party or myself. Did you hear of the total wreck of the Hudson's Bay Company's ship on the sand-bar at the entrance of the Columbia River, with the loss of every individual on board, forty-six in number, on the 11th of March last? It was the vessel in which Dr. Scouler and I went out in 1824, when the late captain was First-Mate. It is stated that those who escaped from the wreck were destroyed by my old friends, the Chenooks. This may be true, though I confess I entertain some doubts, for I have lived among those people unmolested for weeks and months. The temptation, however, of obtaining the wreck may have overcome their better (if indeed they possess any) feelings. Though this is far from agreeable news, and though the name of my new captain (Grave) may sound ominous, I shall yet venture among these tribes once again. I doubt not if I can do as much as most people, and perhaps more than some who make a parade about it. I shall write every day and write every thing, so that my drivelling will return home, though perhaps I may not.

"I shall feel the greatest pleasure in communicating with Dr. Richardson; it will be quite a comfort to place any of my discoveries in the hands of one who will give them so creditably to the world.

³The son of Prof. Mertens of Bremen, who accompanied Capt. Lutke, as Naturalist, in the last Russian voyage of discovery. His account of Sitka is given at vol. 3, p. 12, of the "Botanical Miscellany."

⁴It proves to be the same plant, a new genus, my *Tolmiera occidentalis* (Fl. Bor. Am. v. 2, p. 45,) but had been, a little time previously, published by M. Bongard, under the name of *Cladothamnus pyroliflorus*.

"It is uncertain where I may touch in my passage out, or, indeed, if at all on the Brazilian coast. I believe it is pretty certain we shall spend a month on the Sandwich Islands, where something may, I trust, be done, both in Botany and Zoology.

"I regret to hear that you are not likely to be in England this autumn; for to Scotland I cannot go, which obliges me, most reluctantly, to sail without seeing you. In a few days I shall write to you my, for the present, last letter. I had almost forgotten to say, that I have put the last impression on your map through my hands. It is very fine, and will surely please you. The route of Franklin, Richardson, and Drummond is marked in RED, Parry's in BLUE, and mine in YELLOW. I must have the latter tint changed to green, for yellow is a most sickly hue for a *culler of weeds*."

LONDON, Oct. 27, 1829.

"I received, in due course, the letter you were so kind as to address me at Greenwich, and am delighted to know that Dr. Mertens has promised to send you part of his plants, which must be a great acquisition. I cannot tell you how pleased I am to have seen the first Part of your *Flora Boreali-Americana* before sailing, and that I am enabled to take it with me to America. The map is good and will increase the interest of the book; had it been printed on thinner paper, I think, however, it would have been still better. The plates are truly beautiful; but I see you have not given a figure of *Pæonia* (*P. Brownii*). The type is also good, and the notices and habitats full—a point of great importance. I have been, and still am, deeply engaged, and will continue so, if I have another season to remain here, for I have much to learn, to do, and to think, as to my anticipated journey. I know it will give you satisfaction to hear that every facility in the way of instruments for such an expedition has been granted me in the handsomest manner by the Colonial Office. And further still, Mr. Hay, the Under Secretary, sent to enquire if any thing had been forgotten, and begged me to say unhesitatingly if this were the case. The same Office also pays the principal part of my expenses, and will give me a compensation for my charts, and for the information I may bring home on my return. This is all as it ought to be—I mean the latter part of the agreement; if I had a good salary, I might fold my hands and become lazy, therefore I can feel no objection to being paid according to my labour. I hope, ere the whole of the *Flora* is printed, to be able to supply you with many and striking novelties. I am sensible of the great advantage I derive from my former experience of travelling in the country, of hunting, collecting, etc.; and certainly if I find the Indian tribes as quiet as when I left them, much good may be effected. Of this, however, I feel considerably afraid, in consequence of the destruction of the Hudson's Bay Company's Ship's crew, and the murder of some parties of Americans, by which I am warned

to walk with great caution, and more reservedly than before. If I find the natives hostile to the 'Man of Grass' [the name by which Mr. Douglas was generally known among them], I must shift my quarters to some other part of the country. I shall take the list of my Canadian plants to-day to Treuttel and Wurtz's for you, and am also sending to Dr. Richardson a notice of the Zoology of North-west America, to be published in the last volume of his *Fauna*. I am hourly expecting the summons to sail, and am not aware that we shall touch at any place, except the Sandwich Islands, where it is intended to make a short stay. By every opportunity, it will be my sincere pleasure to write to you, and tell you of my progress and plans; and I cannot express the delight which I always feel in hearing from you, more especially when I am separated from you by seas and distant lands, and yet busily employed in gathering and sending you the plants of those regions. I therefore entreat that, if it be only a few lines, you will do me the favour to write, or cause your sons to do so. It is not likely my time will permit me to address you again before sailing,—let me therefore repeat once more how sincerely I feel myself indebted to you, not for much, but for all that I possess; and that the many favours and kind attentions I have always received from you command my warmest gratitude."

REVIEWS.

In the Beginning. A Sketch of Some Early Events in Western Washington while it was still a part of "Old Oregon." By CLARENCE B. BAGLEY. (Seattle: Lowman and Hanford. 1905. Paper, pp. 90.)

The author of this sketch has certainly used to excellent advantage his privilege of delving "at will among the records and correspondence of the early days at old Fort Nisqually, the earliest white man's home in what is now Western Washington." He has examined a rich collection of historical sources with a mind unprejudiced, but clear and well-filled through previous wide reading of the sources of history connected with the beginnings of the Sound country.

Among the many vital matters his comment touches and illuminates special mention may be made of the results of the early protestant missionary activities in the Pacific Northwest, the development of the cattle and sheep industries on the prairie country tributary to the old Fort, the conditions under which the manufacture of shingles was begun, the planting of the first permanent American community in that quarter, and the relations between these pioneers and the officials in charge of the Hudson Bay Company's interests.

Mr. Bagley in the kindest manner possible exposes the utter failure of the protestant missionaries as such—that is, the futility of their efforts to accomplish directly the conversion of any considerable number of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest. His sweeping statement on this matter is, however, open to criticism when applied to the missionary activity among the Nez Perces. Mr. Bagley attributes the discomfiture of the protestant missionaries to two chief causes: The Catholic brethren who started a keen competition with them used the more objective methods better calculated to get an immediate hold upon the Indian's thought. The "black gowns" with their pictorial "ladders," handled with highest pedagogical skill, represented the expert efficiency of centuries of experience with the aboriginal American. The protestants could not enter so fully and sympathetically into the Indian's point of view, and being also without effective methods, they seemed like novices at their work. Fully as consecrated these missionary families no doubt were, but they were under a fearful handicap in this race for the souls of the benighted Indians.

Mr. Bagley also justly points out another great advantage possessed by the Catholic brethren. The "blackgowns" had essentially all the recognition and deference of representatives of a "state church" from the officials of Hudson Bay Company. This implies no lack of kindness and gracious concern for the comfort and safety of the protestant missionary families on the part of the good men in charge of the different posts. The special deference to the representatives of the Catholic Church was probably given unconsciously and unintentionally, but it was there and the keen perceptions of the Indian detected it. And the Indian had enough human nature to be strongly influenced by this fact in the responses he gave to these two sets of religious teachers. The Indian saw that the "blackgowns" swayed these men who wielded the power here below and held the keys to the Indian's comfort. Why should they not like St. Peter hold the same relative position in the happy hunting grounds on high?

Mr. Bagley quotes "with approval" Captain Wilkes' complaint that the protestant missionaries did not go where the Indians in large numbers were. But the missionary's plea, in answer to this charge, of *confession* and *avoidance* is, I think, well made. Scratch the average missionary with such an accusation as this and you draw the red-blood sentiment of the pioneer. The Reverend John P. Richmond, the pioneer missionary stationed at Fort Nisqually, is not wholly wrong when he says, "Very few persons seem capable of comprehending the logic or the pure purposes of the board of American missions in sending a large force of men and women into Oregon at an early day." These families of missionaries went near enough the Indians to look over the brink into the abyss of savagery and then wisely drew back to where they could establish themselves on the firm foundations of the institutions and activities of civilized life. This meant the postponement of large results—yea, even the absence of any for their generation. If the Methodists of the Willamette Valley stationed themselves too far away from the haunts of the Indians Doctor Whitman certainly remained too near.

While it is thus possible to arrive at a judgment different from Mr. Bagley's on some of the questions he discusses it is impossible to refrain from admiration of the judicial tone maintained throughout this brochure and of the perspicacity with which his points are brought out. The fine tribute paid to the magnanimous spirit and ability of those high in position in the Hudson Bay Company, including with Doctor McLoughlin, James Douglas, Peter Skeen Ogden, William Fraser Tolmie, Archibald McDonald, and John Work, is representative of the author. This coming from the son of a pioneer Methodist clergyman illustrates the fine catholicity with which all the topics are discussed.

Mr. Bagley quotes just enough of the documents found in this collection of Mr. Edward Huggins to prove how rich it is. Every one solicitous for the preservation of the records of "Old Oregon" and for the making of them accessible to the accredited student of history is deeply concerned about these. Are they in their present depository secure against fire and other possible ravages? If preserved and fully utilized they will serve virtually as a revelation on the period they cover.

F. G. Y.

ACCESSIONS

For quarter ending June 30, 1905.

PAMPHLETS.

Proceedings of a convention held at Carthage, Hancock County, Ill., Oct. 1 and 2, 1845, relating to depredations by Mormons. Donated by R. V. Short, Portland.

Speech of Col. E. D. Baker in United States senate Jan. 2, 1861, upon the secession question.

A melodrama entitled "Treason, Strategems, and Spoils," in five acts, by Breakspear (W. L. Adams). Printed at *Oregonian* office by Thos. J. Dryer, 1852. Donated by C. G. Morey.

Address at Hartford before the delegates to the young men of Connecticut on Feb. 18, 1840, by George Bancroft.

Speech of John Davis, Massachusetts, in reply to James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, on the Reduction of Wages and Value of Property, in United States senate, Jan. 23, 1840.

Message of President Z. Taylor, Dec. 4, 1849.

Speech of Samuel R. Thurston, delegate in Congress from Oregon, on Admission of California as a State, March 25, 1850.

General and Special Laws of Oregon Territory passed at 4th regular session of Legislative Assembly, Salem, Dec. 6, 1852. Salem, Oregon. 8vo, paper; 142 pp.

— 8th Regular Session, Dec. 1, 1856. Salem. 8vo, paper; 140 pp.

— 9th Regular Session, Dec. 7, 1857. Salem. 8vo, paper; 208 pp.

— 10th Regular Session, Dec. 6, 1858. Salem. 8vo, paper; 174 pp.

Journal of Council, Legislative Assembly, Dec. 5, 1856. Salem. 1857. 8vo, 164 pp. (Five pamphlets donated by R. V. Short, Portland.)

Kanzas Region: Forest, Prairie, Desert, Mountain, Vale, and River. By Max Greene. 12mo, paper; New York, 1856. Map. 192 pp. (Donated by Mrs. Zilpha Rigdon, Pleasant Hill.

Heroine of 1849, The: A story of the Pacific Coast. By Mrs. Mary P. Sawtelle. San Francisco, 1892. 12mo, paper; 248 pp.

Parks, Portland, Oregon. Report of Park Board, 1903. 8vo, 76 pp.

Report of Adjutant General, Oregon Territory, Jan. 19, 1856.

— Quartermaster General, Jan. 1, 1856. (Presented by Colburn Barrell, Portland.)

History of the Wadsworth-Longfellow House, Portland, Me. Presented by Nathan Goold, author.

Portland Water Works. Rates and regulations adopted Sept. 1, 1878.

Rules and orders of the House of Representatives, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1836; was the property of Capt. Nathaniel Crosby,

who came to Portland in 1845, and bears his signature. He was founder of the town of Milton, near St. Helens of to-day.

Speech of James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, in United States senate, Dec. 29, 1841, against the establishment of the "Exchequer Board" proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Speech by Charles Sumner, Massachusetts, April 13, 1869, on "Our Claims on England."

Charter, City of Portland, Oct. 17, 1860.

Report of Agricultural Department, November and December, 1866.

Petition of B. F. Dowell and others for paying Volunteers in suppressing Indian hostilities in 1854, introduced by J. H. D. Henderson in Congress, March 25, 1867. Reference to Ward massacre, Aug. 20, 1854.

Letter of Robert J. Walker, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, on National Finances, Nov. 30, 1867.

Speech of H. W. Corbett, United States senate, Dec. 13, 1867, on resuming Specie Payment.

Speech of O. P. Morton, United States senate, Jan. 24, 1868, on Reconstruction.

Speech of Rufus Mallory, Congress, Feb. 24, 1868, on Impeaching President Johnson.

Speech of H. W. Corbett, United States senate, March 11, 1868, on The Funding Bill.

Policy of extending Government aid to additional railroads to the Pacific by guaranteeing interest on their Bonds. Report of Committee Feb. 19, 1869.

Message of President Hayes, Dec. 6, 1880.

Thirtieth Annual Report of Portland Public Schools, 1902-1903.

Congressional directory, first edition, Dec. 5, 1889. Presented by Mrs. Zilpha Rigdon, Pleasant Hill.

Special report on Mountain Meadow Massacre, by Major J. H. Carleton, United States army, May 25, 1859. (Reprinted as House Doc. 605, 57th Congress, 1st session, 1902.)

State of Washington, 1901, issued by State Bureau of Statistics.

First American Public School. By William A. Mowry, Hyde Park, Mass.

Some Historic Old Landmarks, Virginia and Maryland. By W. H. Snowden, Philadelphia, 1894.

Game of British Columbia. Bulletin No. 17, Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria, B. C., 1903.

Acceptance of Oil Portrait of Dr. John McLoughlin by State authorities. Presented by Oregon Pioneer Association, Feb. 5, 1889.

DOCUMENTS.

Commission issued by James Campbell, Postmaster General, United States of America, to Alvin T. Smith, as postmaster at Tualatin, Washington County (now Forest Grove), April 9, 1853.

Commission issued by John P. Gaines, Governor of Oregon, to Alvin T. Smith, as probate judge of Washington County, July 3, 1851.

Receipt for note to Alvin T. Smith from Rev. Elkanah Walker, Sept. 13, 1858.

Agreement by Revs. Elkanah Walker and Horace Lyman with Alvin T. Smith to assist in completing the "Congregational Meeting House" at Forest Grove, dated Sept. 13, 1858.

Certificate of election of Alvin T. Smith to office of probate judge, issued by Wm. Geiger, Jr., June 9, 1851.

Instructions from Postoffice Department, April 3, 1855.

Receipt for letters and postal supplies, signed by Alvin T. Smith to W. S. Caldwell, postmaster at Hillsboro, July 14, 1851.

Quarterly account of Alvin T. Smith, postmaster at Tualatin, March 31, 1855.

Commission issued by Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster General, United States of America, to Alvin T. Smith, postmaster at Tualatin, June 5, 1852.

Election tickets, Democratic and American (Know Nothing), voted June, 1855, at West Tualatin (Forest Grove).

Letter from Alvin T. Smith to Postoffice Department, Tualatin, July 31, 1855.

— July 31, 1855.

— Aug. 6, 1855.

— Jan. 9, 1856.

Letter from Auditor of Postoffice Department to Alvin T. Smith, dated October 6, 1855.

Note to editor of *Oregon Weekly Times* from Alvin T. Smith, May 18, 1859.

House Joint Resolution No. 2 introduced in legislative assembly Dec. 14, 1857.

Letter from J. E. Long, "Secretary of Oregon," June 28, 1844, to Alvin T. Smith, notifying him that he in connection with Adam Hewett and James Waters had been appointed by the legislature to "view out the road leading from the Willamette Falls to the Tualatin Plains." Preceding eighteen documents donated by Mrs. Alvin T. Smith, Forest Grove.

Letter. Frederick and Catherine Elgin to James Elgin, dated Clover Bottom, Ky., June 5, 1822.

Deed of Wm. M. Turpin to William Taylor, Polk County, Oregon, dated Dec. 29, 1853.

Letter. Col. J. B. Backenstos to Gen. Joseph Lane, May 26, 1854.

Ticket of Admission to Impeachment Trial of President of the United States April 13, 1868. Presented by Judson Holcomb, Towanda, Pa.

Early History of Tacoma. Address by Thomas W. Prosch, April 12, 1905.

Sketch of trip of 4th Infantry, Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, from New York to Fort Vancouver, leaving the former city July 23, 1852, by Mrs. John D. Biles, daughter of Brevet Major William Kelly, of Co. G, then first sergeant.

Portland Levee Question. Decisions in Courts. 1860.

Logbook of Bark Henrietta sunk near Astoria. (In French.)

Letter. Abraham Lincoln to Simeon Francis, Springfield, Ill., August 4, 1860. (Donated by Mrs. Byron Z. Holmes, Portland, a niece of Mr. Francis.)

Republican campaign letter head, 1860, showing a rail fence, flat-boat, and Lincoln's portrait. (Donated by A. F. Johnson.)

Muster roll of privates on special duty, City of Mexico, October, 1847, U. S. Grant, Second Lieutenant, Reg'l Q. M.

Discharge of A. L. Coffee, private in Capt. H. J. G. Maxon's Company of Washington Territory Volunteers in Yakima Indian war of 1855-56, dated Sept. 15, 1856.

Certificate No. 228, in Umpqua Land District, dated May 10, 1862, signed by John Kelly, Register, and George E. Briggs, Receiver, to the effect that William Tichenor was entitled to a patent by virtue of his residing on the premises, described in body of certificate, from May 12, 1852, to Sept. 29, 1856.

Commission of M. C. Barkwell as Surgeon General of the Territory of Oregon, dated Jan. 31, 1856. Signed by George L. Curry, Governor.

Letter of inquiry by Dr. John McLoughlin, Oregon City, Dec. 26, 1854, addressed to Joseph Watt, Amity, Oregon, relating to his treatment of early settlers, and Watt's reply.

Letter from A. L. Lovejoy to J. W. Nesmith, Oregon City, Dec. 26, 1846, referring to passage of liquor law by the provisional legislature over the Governor's veto.

Receipt of J. L. Meek to J. W. Nesmith, United States marshal, for \$40 for services as crier at September term, 1854, United States court.

Copy of letter from Jesse Applegate to Dr. John McLoughlin, dated Jan. 15, 1854, relating to the services of the latter to the early settlers of Oregon.

Copy of letter from John C. Fremont to Dr. John McLoughlin, dated San Francisco, Dec. 26, 1851.

Report of Col. James W. Nesmith to Governor Geo. L. Curry, The Dalles, Nov. 19, 1855, touching operations in the Indian country.

Letter of A. B. Harden, no date, to his brother, J. D. Harden, urging that, if he decides to come to Oregon, he should take the southern route to avoid being "robbed" by Mr. Barlow. On reverse side of letter appears a rude map of Willamette Valley settlements.

Certificate of stock of the "Portland and Valley Plank Road Company," issued to James W. Nesmith Oct. 9, 1851.

Postal accounts of Robert Nesmith, a brother of James W. Nesmith's father, at Francestown, N. H., in 1817.

(Preceding eleven documents presented by Mrs. Harriet K. McArthur, Portland, a daughter of James W. Nesmith.)

Seven Documents relating to an arbitration between J. L. Parrish and W. H. Gray on August 13, 1846.

Article of Agreement between John Davis and J. L. Barlow, Jan. 17, 1861.

Act to provide for a special election, Sept. 29, 1849.

Letter. W. G. T'Vault to Oregon Printing Association, Oregon City, Dec. 27, 1845, offering to edit the *Oregon Spectator* one year for \$300 in currency; also minutes of said association Jan. 3, 1846.

Letter. N. W. Colwell to Oregon Printing Association, Oct. 5, 1846, offering to print the *Spectator* for \$800 in "orders on solvent merchants in Oregon City, or cash at one third discount."

Letters, contracts, minutes of meetings, receipts, etc., relating to the business of the Oregon Printing Association and the issuing of the *Oregon Spectator*, the first newspaper printed in American territory west of the Rocky Mountains, its first issue being at Oregon City, Feb. 5, 1846. Eighteen documents. (Donated by Mrs. George A. Harding, Oregon City.)

Letter to Governor Gibbs, Feb. 29, 1864, announcing completion of telegraph line to Portland, signed by R. R. Haines, superintendent Oregon Telegraph Co.

Letter to Governor Gibbs from Gen. George Wright, San Francisco, Jan. 12, 1864, respecting the probable drafting of soldiers in Oregon for the United States army.

Commission issued to George W. Salisbury as Recorder of Porter County, Indiana, for seven years, by Daniel Wallace, Governor, Aug. 17, 1839. (Mr. Salisbury crossed the plains to Oregon in 1850, went to Sandwich Islands soon after, and died there.)

Letter from Miss Chloe A. Clark, afterwards Mrs. W. H. Willson, whose husband was the founder of Salem, dated "Ship Lausanne, May 22, 1840," lying off the mouth of the Columbia River, to Miss Mary A. Norton, Litchfield, Conn. Miss Clark arrived at Vancouver, June 1, 1840; was appointed teacher at Puget Sound on the 8th, and was married to Dr. W. H. Willson, at Fort Nesqually on Aug. 16, 1840—the second white couple to be married north of the Columbia River. (Presented by Mrs. J. K. Gill, Portland, a daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Willson.)

Letter from Mrs. Thomas A. Hendricks, Indianapolis, Ind., Feb. 17, 1888.

Letter of Senator E. D. Baker, Salem, Oct. 2, 1860, to R. F. Maury, Jacksonville, announcing his election to the United States senate.

Letter. H. W. Corbett to Col. R. F. Maury, Portland, Feb. 10, 1863.

Letter. Nesmith to Maury, Washington, D. C., April 3, 1862, relating to war matters.

Letter. Brigadier General Alvord, Fort Vancouver, Feb. 15, 1864, to Colonel Maury, on political and war matters.

Letter. Lieut. J. A. Waymire to Colonel Maury, Walla Walla, Feb. 17, 1863, relating to military matters.

Telegram. R. C. Drumm, Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Pacific, San Francisco, March 1, 1864, to Col. R. F. Maury.

Letter. Capt. Geo. E. Pickett to Colonel Maury, Feb. 13, 1861. (The last seven documents donated by Col. R. F. Maury, Jacksonville, Oregon.)

Letter. A. McDonald to Napoleon McGillivray, May 4, 1879.

Letter. Geo. B. Roberts to Napoleon McGillivray, Nov. 21, 1878.

Sixty-five bill heads, receipts, orders, etc., connected with the business of King & Kittredge, merchants in Portland, and Wm. M. King, 1849-1854.

Sixty-two letters to Col. Wm. M. King relating to early business and political life in Portland prior to 1855.

Thirteen letters, contracts, etc., relating to business matters in which Col. Wm. M. King was engaged in New York State between the years 1835 and 1847.

Commissions issued to Wm. M. King by the Governor of New York in 1835 and 1837 as major and colonel of the State militia.

Circular, "Oregon and California," issued at Independence, Mo., Feb. 15, 1847, by Geo. W. Buchanan, postmaster, also a letter by the same, dated March 25, 1847, sent to Col. Wm. M. King, then in New York.

Proclamation of Governor Joseph Lane calling special session of the legislature, dated April 6, 1850.

(Donated by the family of Col. King through his son, James W. King, Portland.)

Statement by Andrew J. Laws, who is believed to have fired the first gun on the part of the whites in the Yakima Indian war of 1855-56.

Articles of agreement between Capt. John A. Sutter, Lewis Sanders, and William Muldrow, about his property in Sacramento, dated Feb. 24, 1854.

Notice relating to "Express Matter to and from the Outside," dated Nome, Dec. 12, 1900.

Correspondence, scrapbooks, letterbooks, etc., of Governor Addison C. Gibbs, war governor of Oregon, 1862-1866, numbering ten volumes; and in addition about 3,000 pages of testimony before United States Court, District of Oregon, relating to the final settlement of title in the Caruthers land claim, City of Portland. (Donated by Mrs. Margaret W. Gibbs.)

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THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI.]

SEPTEMBER, 1905

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THE UNITY OF HISTORY.*

By H. W. SCOTT.

What is the meaning of history? Has history ascertainable meaning? Not if thought of as a catalogue of detached or unconnected events. But if considered as a continuous picture of mankind in action—not repeated merely in events, but guided by the human spirit at work under constantly varying conditions of time and place, yet following a regular law of movement which it is the business of careful investigation to discover—so considered history has meaning and use. It is a living whole. Cause and effect are here in their sources and flow and consequences. Whatever occurs depends on something or flows out of something that has preceded it. History is not a series of marvelous or unconnected events, like the patchwork scenes of badly constructed drama. The law of cause and of consequence rules over all.

The specific subject, then, to which I shall call your attention in this address is the unity of history. In a brief discourse a few only of the heads of so great a subject can be touched; but I hope to be able to present an

*Address at the Historical Congress, Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, Portland, Oregon, August 21, 1905.

outline sufficient for illustration of the fact that a principle — or law, if you will — underlies the course and progress of the human race. History is this record; this record is history. Human affairs must be looked upon as in continuous movement, not wandering in an arbitrary manner here and there, but proceeding in a perfectly defined course. Whatever the present state, it is altogether transient. All systems of civil life therefore are necessarily ephemeral. Time brings new external conditions; the manner of thought is modified; with thought, action. Institutions of all kinds consequently must participate in this fleeting nature, and though they may have allied themselves to political and to ecclesiastical power and gathered therefrom the means of coercion, their permanency is by no means assured; for sooner or later the population upon whom they have been imposed, following the external variations, spontaneously outgrows them, and their ruin, though it may have been delayed, is none the less certain. No man, no nation, can stop the march of destiny.

The great conception of Comte, that human affairs, like physical facts, are ordered by law — by a law working within them and directing their course — and therefore may be subjected to scientific analysis, has been so fully worked out by Mill, Spencer, Buckle (in English), and by an army of competent sociologists in all leading modern languages, that it would be useless in these days to argue it further with those who might deny it. The unity of history is, in consequence, the great fact of history. When we go into the analysis we find causes and effects, or trace effects back to causes. Astonishing things have occurred, and will yet occur, in human history. But there are no “breaks” in the chain. All events pursue a regular, orderly, consistent, and inevitable course. But often it takes a while to see it. You can not get the full effect of the

height or magnitude of our mountain peaks when you stand near them. You must draw back a little; you must mount some secondary height at a distance. Then you may see the whole clearly.

The two main facts that form and direct the history of men are characteristics of race and variations of physical circumstances. But they who argue the unity of the human race are forced to admit that physical or material circumstances must have produced the racial differences that so remarkably divide or distinguish the types of mankind. The doctrine of unity demands as its essential postulate an admission of the paramount control of physical agents over the human aspect and organization. Man, in every situation, is dependent largely on nature. Never can he escape her domination. Differences of climate, of soil, of situations, distribution by Nature of plant life and of animal life, varying so greatly in different parts of the earth, are leading factors in race differentiation. Why had not man in America risen higher in the scale prior to the discovery? Chiefly because he had had no help from domestic animals. The horse and the sheep were unknown in America, and of the bovine species the untamable buffalo was the only representative. Man in America had no animal to furnish his clothing, to supply milk or sure abundance of flesh food, or to draw his plough. Everywhere, moreover, in the presence of the sea, man finds conditions very different from those far inland. It might have been supposed that pioneer life on the Pacific Coast would be very similar to that in the Mississippi Valley. In fact, it was altogether different. Proximity to the sea made another climate, that affected all life; and the sea afforded a highway for intercourse with the world, which, in spite of distance, gave advantages here unknown to the early settlers in the heart of the continent.

Race distinctions, which have borne so prominent a part for ages in the movements and contests of men, grew up in consequence of the isolation of various portions of the human race from each other. The process, before our historic period began, must have been infinitely long. As further consequence of this differentiation qualities have grown up among various peoples and races which one or another among them lacks. The modern movement, due to improved methods of locomotion, brings these various races now more and more into contact. It is a movement which, however, has been in progress, notably, since the dawn of history. The East has been pressing continually toward the West. Aryan man, at a date too early even for conjecture, passed from Asia into Europe. His descendants have passed from Europe to America. And from both directions Aryan man has completed the circuit of the globe. He meets his fellows now in Australia, in New Guinea, in Borneo, in the Philippines, in New Zealand, in India, in China. Through ages Asia had been pouring her multitudes, our ancestors, into Europe. The gray dawn of history breaks upon the closing scenes of this vast movement. The Huns came into Europe later; long after them the Turks, both nations offshoots of the great Turanian race. The return movement, however, the reflux of the invasion, began long before the Christian era, with the Greek expedition described in the immortal pages of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon. It was this expedition of Cyrus, with his Greek mercenaries, to recover the throne of Persia that opened the way for Alexander, whose career carried Greek influence into Africa and Asia and gave it permanent establishment in both continents. It was the beginning of the transformation that has made the modern world. Forces that Alexander set in motion continue, in their consequences, to this day. The current of influence and power passed

from the Macedonian empire to that of Rome, and through Rome passed on to France, to Spain, to Germany, to England, thence to America, and so on around the globe.

But every great man is a product of his time and of times preceding his own; and he works in conditions and upon materials that he finds round about him. It was the same with the Founder of Christianity. Working upon the human spirit, He gave new direction and deeper force to feelings immanent in man. The career of Jesus and its consequences furnish perhaps the most remarkable of all illustrations and proofs of the unity of history; for herein is the most effective force yet brought into action for broadening the spirit of man and linking humanity together in a single chain.

The appearance of a great man upon any important theater of action will start great changes, will accelerate every movement about him, will give force and direction to unorganized activities, and hurry forward to results the tendencies of the age or time. Causes in potent operation to this day were set in motion when Cæsar was appointed governor of Gaul. For comparison it may well be said that the enlargement of the world's historical horizon by the expeditions beyond the Alps was as much an event in the world's history as the exploration of America by European discoverers. To the narrow circle of Mediterranean states were added the peoples of Central and Northern Europe, the dwellers on the Baltic and North seas, and those of the British Islands; to the Old World was added a new one, which thenceforth was influenced by the old, and influenced it in turn. But for Cæsar and his triumphs over the north, which put off for a long period, the descent of the Northern multitudes upon the South, historians of first repute assure us that our civilization would hardly have stood in any more intimate relation to the Romano-Greek than to the Indian and Assyrian culture. That

there is a bridge connecting the past glory of Hellas and of Rome with the prouder fabric of modern history; that Western Europe is Romanic and Germanic Europe classic; that the names of Themistocles and Scipio have to us a very different sound from those of Asoka and Salmanassar; that Homer and Sophocles are not merely like to the Vedas and Kalidasa, attractive to the literary botanist, but bloom for us in our own garden—all this, as Niebuhr and Mommsen show us, is the work of Cæsar; and, while the career of his great predecessor in the East (Alexander) has been reduced nearly to ruins by the tempests of the Middle Ages, the structure of Cæsar has outlasted those thousands of years which have changed religion and polity for the human race and even shifted the center of civilization itself, and it stands erect for what we may term perpetuity. It is the greatest and most permanent work yet achieved in the secular world under the leadership of a single mind.

The comparison with it, in the world of spirit and religion, is the life and career of Jesus of Nazareth and the hold this name has on the spirit of mankind.

Secular history and religious history—that is, under the old description, history sacred and profane—go together, meet on a common ground. Again, the connection and the unity of history is established.

Shall I shock any reverent mind? I would not willingly. But in the scheme of history that I here set forth, with Jesus I include Socrates and Plato, Alexander and Cæsar, and Charlemagne; I include Columbus and John and Sebastian Cabot; I include—I extend now the illustration—Washington and Jefferson, and Hamilton and Lincoln. I include the history of the United States of America.

All this connected history is no marvel. It is all linked together, and fits in together. We separate religious and political systems now, and the two run on parallel lines. But the whole world has not yet separated them.

Deeply as the story of the progress of history must always interest us, let us not forget that the result was not due to one man or to one people, but that each race has given its share to the whole—Greece, her intellect and grace; Rome, her social instinct and her genius for discipline; Judea, her intensity of belief and personal morality; Egypt and the African coast, their combination of Hellenic, Judaic, and Roman traditions; the Saracenic empire, its contribution of an intense purpose in religion and war, and of development in science and art. The dormant energies of Christian nations were awakened to utmost effort for defense against the Saracenic invasion; Greeks flying from Constantinople before the Turks, spread over Europe, extending the culture of the ancient world long stored up on the shores of the Bosphorus; Columbus discovered America; the Portuguese sailed around Africa to India; Magellan circumnavigated the globe; a host of daring adventurers penetrated untraversed seas and lands. Man at last entered upon full dominion of the earth. Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo unveiled the mystery of the world and made a revolution in all thought. The elements of the material earth were explored, and physical science began to have an actual meaning. The continuity of this great movement marks the connection and establishes the unity of history, through examples written in all the literature of the world.

The unity of history is suggested, perhaps, by nothing so much as by study of language. Philological research astonishes, by showing the kinship of races separated centuries ago. Language, the earliest product of the intelligence of man and the origin of all other intellectual energies, is, at the same time, the clearest evidence of the descent of a nation and of its affinity with other races. Hence, the comparison of languages enables us to judge of the history of nations at periods to which no other kind

of memorial, no tradition or record, can ascend. Of the great Aryan or Indo-European branches, Greek in the East and Latin in the West, became through course of ages the familiar speech of millions who had not a drop of Greek or Italian blood in their veins. The same has been the case in later times with Arabic, Persian, Spanish, German, English. The Gauls gradually gave up their own language for a modified Latin. Moral causes, the needs of civilization, directed their choice and determined that Gaul should become a Latin-speaking land. France, as she is to-day, is the resultant of the work of Cæsar; for the work of Cæsar prepared Gaul for all that has followed. Cæsar broke down the great Celtic Confederacy, thus weakening Gallic power and opening a way for the ascendancy of the Franks. Hence Charles the Great and the empire that laid the foundations of modern Europe. The Frenchman is formed by the infusion of Frank upon Celt; and the Frankish empire, with its control of both Germany and Gaul, was thus also a fruit of the career of Cæsar. The French nation is indeed the only one that has maintained an uninterrupted existence from the fall of the Roman power down to the present day; and this long career has been marked throughout by the strangest vicissitudes—alternations of glory and disaster, of misrule and revolution. France has many times been overrun and conquered, and its territory dismembered; it has been a prey to every variety of civil war—wars of factions, of classes, and of creeds; its administrative system has been disorganized under weak governments, its liberties have been trodden down by despotic governments; it has cut itself loose at a single stroke from its ancient traditions; it has maintained an attitude of hostility against the world, and, after unexampled and intoxicating triumphs, it has tasted the bitter dregs of humiliation and defeat; yet even in defeat she has largely led the ideas of the world and still

does so to-day. With the Roman empire itself France has a full share in the continuity of history; and, indeed, in France the unity of history is illustrated scarcely less than in the history of the Roman empire itself. France, though it bears the name of the Franks, is a Romano-Gallic nation, not a Teutonic, to which fact its language, founded on the Roman—not less than other incidents—bears attestation.

Roman conquest passed from Gaul over to Britain—the first step toward the opening of another world, which has become the world in which all of us who live under English laws and institutions and use the English language, dwell to-day. By the steps which followed the conquest of Gaul, Britain was revealed to civilized man—and Britain has been truly deemed another world, from the very beginning of her known being. There, in its insular position, protected, since the early invasions, from conquest during nearly one thousand years, the nation whose influence has become so great, both through its own power at home and through its colonial offshoots—among which our own Nation holds the leading place—has grown great. Through the early conquests—Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman—the successive accretions came, by which this nation, protected by its insularity, has had its development and spread its influence to all parts of the globe. Spain, for three to four centuries, seemed to have this or a like destiny before her, but just missed it—through causes that give us one of the most unique and impressive lessons in all history. England succeeded to the rare destiny that, as we look back upon it, would seem surely to have belonged to Spain; yet Spanish influence, still ascendant—in its living or secondary results—in so large a part of the world, remains one of the chief testimonies of modern times to the unity of history. Spain, to-day, has no colonies, no sovereignty

beyond her home land ; yet, of the Western Hemisphere one half remains Spanish, and in the Indies and elsewhere millions of the human race attest, through language and customs and institutions and character, the greatness of the part played by Spain in the history of the world.

Striking resemblances are presented, at different stages of history ; but no historical parallel can be absolutely perfect, because no event in history exactly repeats itself. In truth, it can not repeat itself, because the event with which it is compared has gone before it, and new materials and new forces are added to the later terms, while some of the former terms have been eliminated. The fact that one event belongs to one age and country and the other event to another age and country, will impress upon each important points of difference from the other ; but it does not at all follow from this that real instruction, practical instruction and not mere gratification of curiosity, may not be drawn from the comparison of distant events with one another. We see in these comparisons, though they be not parallels, the unity of history and the connection of history. Repetitions are not to be expected. Very different destinies awaited the efforts of England, of France, and of Spain in America ; though they all started upon a common basis in the New World. The difference was chiefly that of national character between the colonizers—showing that the quality of the human spirit applied to any important problem, is the main factor, or, indeed, all in all. *Non omnia possumus omnes.* We can't all of us do everything.

The origin of all Aryan legislatures is to be found in the village council, which was the first effort to create a legislative body. "From this embryo," says Sir Henry Maine, "has sprung all the most famous legislatures of the world—the Athenæan Ecclesia, the Roman Comitia, Senate and Prince, and our own Parliament. The type and parent of

all the collegiate sovereignties of the modern world, or, in other words, of our Governments in which the sovereign power is exercised by the people or shared between the people and the King."

When Britain was finally subjugated by the Romans, the Roman laws were established in every part of the conquered country and Britain became a diocese in the prefecture of Gaul. It was divided into provinces under the direction of the president or consular. The curia or ruling body was composed of senators and decurions, but the controlling power existed in the provincial councils and assemblies. Deputies and magistrates from the cities attended them, as well as the great land proprietors; and the council assembled at stated times of the year. "Whether these councils," as Sir Francis Palgrave says, "were engrafted or not upon institutions subsisting among the conquered nations, they became one of the elements, indeed, the main element, out of which were formed the legislative assemblies of modern Europe."

After the connection with Rome was severed the Britons were divided into rival communities. Then came the Teutonic occupation of the country, when the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons obtained a permanent foothold. The Saxon element was a migration, not a mere conquest, and the Teutons carried with them the elements of civilization. It was in the village moots of Friesland and Sleswick that our forerunners taught England to be the mother of parliaments—that beginner of popular government or democracy which we have inherited. Ancient Germany, the primeval abode of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, consisted of many free and independent states. These again were divided into provinces, each of which formed a separate civil community; and there was a great council representative of them all.

Thus the framework of our own institutions is Teutonic, inherited by us or descended to us through England. Roman influence in Britain left little behind it; but the Englishman, who came at the end of Roman dominion, remains an Englishman. It is one of the results of the fact that the land to which our ancestors came remains an island, immune from attack by the greater forces of the Continent. Because Britain is an island, Teutonic institutions took root there, and, as Taine says, "While the Germans of Gaul, Italy, and Spain became Romans, the Saxons retained their language, their genius and manners, and created in Britain a Germany outside of Germany." These Teutonic institutions of England, with their modifications through time, have spread from Britain over a large part of the present world. The body of our own Nation is of this same origin, for down to the year 1820 our population was mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and nearly all of it of the Germanic race. It was very homogeneous and composed almost entirely of the descendants of the immigrants who came to the country prior to the Revolutionary war. There were no regular statistics of immigration prior to 1820, but it is estimated that between 1783 and 1820 only 250,000 immigrants came to our shores. Since 1820 immigrants have poured in from all parts of the Old World, in fluctuating but ever increasing numbers, until the aggregate equals nearly 23,000,000. Of this number, about 15,000,000 belong to the various branches and elements of the Germanic race, such as the people from Germany, Great Britain, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, while about 6,000,000 belong to the different branches of the Latin, Slav, Polish, Hungarian and other kindred races. The Anglo-Saxon influence predominates in our National life, for it was rooted here and has been steadily reinforced by assimilable materials, and the power

of assimilation, under our political and social system, has been equal to every demand upon it.

We need to know not merely what the general and essential qualities of civilization and of our social nature really are; but we require to know the general course in which they are tending. The more closely we look at it, the more distinctly we see that progress moves in a clear and definite path, under the principles and control of primordial law. The development of man in history is not a casual or arbitrary motion; it moves in a regular and consistent plan. Each part is unfolded in due order—the whole expanding like a single plant. More and more we see each age working out the gifts of the last, and transmitting its labors to the next. More and more certain is our sense of being strong only as we wisely use the materials and follow in the tracks provided by the efforts of mankind. Everything proves how completely that influence surrounds us. The earth's surface has been made, as we know it, mainly by man. Study of the earth, as modified by human agency, is one of the most interesting and profitable themes of history. The earth would be uninhabitable but for the long labors of those who cleared its primeval forests, drained its swamps, first tilled its rank soil. Man must overcome nature. The Mississippi Valley would be practically uninhabitable had not the use of quinine taught man how to overcome malarial fevers, of which now he has but just begun to ascertain the true cause. Let us not forget that all the inventions upon which we depend for our existence, all the instruments we use, were slowly worked out by the necessities of man in the childhood of the race. We can only modify or add to these. We could not discard all existing machines and construct an entirely new set of industrial implements. To break with our past, were it possible, would be to reduce us to the conditions of primitive life.

But it is impossible, for progress is but the result of our joint public opinion, and he only can destroy who can replace. Innovation is attractive to many minds; but it is a settled principle that while no form of civilization ever can endure in perpetuity, and though the time must come when venerable systems must die, yet the mere spirit of innovation is not the spirit of reform.

Our Revolution, in its causes, was little understood at the time, either in the mother country or in our own. The main cause of our Revolution was that the knowledge and experience of the colonists in America had not kept pace with the progress of constitutional and parliamentary government in England. The charters under which the colonial governments were organized were royal grants; they were not concessions from the English Legislature. In contemplation of English law, the whole group of colonial governments in America, created or confirmed by royal charters, were corporations created by the King, and subject to his visitorial power, and to the power of the courts to dissolve them in a proper case presented for the purpose. The governor of the colony was a reflected image of kingship; and when the colonial assemblies began the work of legislation on their own account, the validity of their acts depended, not upon the approval of the English Parliament, but upon the approval of the royal governor, who stood as the ever-present representative of his royal master; hence, the whole tendency of their early experience was to lead the colonies to believe that the crown was the only tie that bound them to the mother country. But, in course of time, revolution in England had greatly changed the relations of King and Parliament—reducing the authority of the King and immensely augmenting that of the Legislature. With this progress the colonists, in their isolation, had not kept pace. In their local legislatures they had learned how to tax themselves and how

to regulate their home affairs through laws of their own making. To them the new powers or pretensions of the great Imperial Parliament were intolerable; they held it had no right to invade the jurisdictions of their colonial assemblies in order to legislate upon their domestic concern. Therefore, out of the conflict that arose between the old theory of the colonists, that they were self-governing communities, and the new conception established by the English revolution of the practical omnipotence of the great Parliament, grew our own Revolution, the creation and the independence of the United States of America. It was a regular and logical proceeding—though both sides were strangely blind for the time to the progressive causes that produced it, as well as to the actual significance of the controversy.

Since the seats of culture are forever changing, it is clear that new institutions require new soil. In the old seats new ideas can find root but slowly, if at all. The rock of habit and custom and characteristic, impervious in most places, affords but a few crevices wherein new plants may be rooted. For proof of this we need to refer only to the difficulties which Christian missionary effort meets among Oriental nations. Where old forms preoccupy the ground, new ones can scarcely be planted. This difficulty appears in all its force in the political development of mankind. The great ideas of America are not wholly our own; they were born in the other hemisphere; they existed as sentiments thousands of years ago, and as ideas hundreds of years ago; but the old institutions lay there in the way and hindered these new ideas from becoming facts. After the old crop was off the ground, the old stubble still choked the rising corn. See how difficult it is to establish a republic in France; not from lack of ideas, nor of men who welcome the ideas, but on account of the old theocracy, monarchy, aristocracy, that are still in the

ground. Hard work it is, and slow to get them out. Our fathers took up the ideas and sought to establish them in England, in Holland, in France. But king and priest and aristocrat turned our fathers out of doors, and they fled here. It seemed a hard fate, but it was the best thing for them, for their ideas, for mankind; for what has been done here for man, as man, in two hundred years, may not be accomplished in Europe in a thousand. And what has been done has been reacting for more than a century on institutions there, and will grow with cumulative force as America increases in power.

Let us not be insensible to these processes, because they seem long. They are, in fact, very short. The greatest empire the world has known lasted two thousand years. Yet the day will come when this duration will seem a short space in the history of mankind.

To an extent, each nation and each group within it, has its own development, and each contributes something from its own nature or peculiarities to the general stock. We must not, because of our personal tastes, or our prejudices perhaps, set ourselves to oppose the action of our time. This action goes on without regard to us; it will run over us if we resist it, and probably it is right. From this point of view, we may as well, therefore, allow the destinies of this planet to work themselves out without our particular concern. Man insensibly changes his estimate of the relative importance of things as he passes through the successive stages of his life. In the inexperience of his youth he imagines that very much is under his control; in the experience of his maturer years, he finds that very little is actually so. But we gain nothing by exclaiming against the irresistible order. All of the ages of the world are leaves of the selfsame book, and the true men of progress are those who profess as their starting point a profound respect for the past. All that we

do, all that we are, is the outcome of ages of labor. But while we venerate the past, we well may envy the future. Newton would have been delighted could he have read some trivial work on natural philosophy or cosmography written in the present day. Our children in the intermediate grades of our common schools are acquainted with truths to know which Aristotle or Archimedes would have laid down his life. What would we not give at this moment to be able to get a glimpse of some book that will be used as a school primer one hundred years hence?

The use of history is obtained by finding the relation and the connection of the parts. We must learn how age develops into age, how country reacts upon country; how thought inspires action, and action modifies thought. I can not multiply instances, for the subject is too vast; I can indicate or point out only a few of the connecting links that mark the unity of history. Yet from these we may infer all the rest. Presented in this form, I fear they will appear but the commonplaces or dry bones of history, to which, however, one, though his imagination be not vivid, may supply intermediate matter for great successive pictures. Yet, though I can not in a discourse like this multiply instances and illustrations, there remains a word I must say. It relates to a contest upon which the attention of the world is focused at the present time—the contest between Japan and Russia.

Nothing is clearer than the fact that here is a new beginning in history; not positively new, for antecedents have led up to it, but new in its relations to the world at large. The causes have been accumulating silently during a long period, but have now only reached a stage or state where the world must take notice of them. All now see that transformation of the Orient has begun. The growth and aggression of Russia have awakened the energy and ambition of Japan—illustrating once more the fact that

the contact of nation with nation and the conflict of race with race have been the moving causes in the history of the world.

At this present stage of the world's history there are two island empires. Who shall say that the example of England is not an inspiration and guide to Japan?

ASPECTS OF OREGON HISTORY BEFORE 1840.*

Of all the centennial anniversaries of events occurring more than one century ago that have so thickly strewn the lives of the present generation, the one at which we are gathered possesses the unique distinction of celebrating the first contribution of the United States Government to the great work of exploring the surface of the earth, which was initiated in systematic form by Prince Henry of Portugal, almost five hundred years ago. Not only was the Lewis and Clark expedition the first that our government undertook, but it has retained a place higher in popular interest than its successors in the interior, like those of Pike and Long, or upon the ocean, like that of Wilkes.

Even more singular than this distinction of the Lewis and Clark celebration is the fact that in successive years should come the anniversaries of the acquisition of Louisiana and the exploration of the Oregon Country, one the greatest stroke of fortune in our history, the other, the execution of a long-considered project of Thomas Jefferson designed to open up the way for transcontinental commerce and to extend human knowledge. To what other president in our history has it been granted to bring to completion two such momentous achievements whose centennial anniversaries have been or will be celebrated with truly national interest and meaning? Of these two transactions the acquisition of the western half of the Mississippi Valley looms largest in our national history; but it redounds less to the credit of Jefferson than this great plan, so early framed and so promptly executed, when he

*Address at the Historical Congress, Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, Portland, Oregon, August 21, 1905.

had the power, of exploring the vast unknown regions of the upper waters of the Missouri and the western slopes of the Rockies. Between the date of his first interest in the project and its execution Mackenzie reached the Pacific far to the north and Gray discovered the mouth of the great river which Indian report had long vaguely described. Both of these events increased his interest in the design in which he had been encouraged by his French correspondents whose fellow-countrymen had first conceived the idea three quarters of a century before.¹

I have ventured in this brief comparison of these two achievements of Jefferson's presidency to ascribe the higher degree of credit to his initiation of the Lewis and Clark expedition, because it was not, like the acquisition of Louisiana, a happy accident, brought about to all appearance by the conjunction of the pressing necessities of the western settlers and the revulsion of Napoleon from plans of restoring France's empire in America, in which he had no original interest and from which he drew back with alacrity at the first serious reverses; but was on the other hand, the product of the scientific instinct, of that reaching out of the imagination toward the remote future and to the ideal, which marks the highest of human achievements. These, too, are the characteristics of the history of the Oregon Country in its more general aspects.

More than any other of our territorial acquisitions or of our original area the Oregon Country stands for the continuity of the controlling interests in the great sweep of early American history. It brings down to our own time as an historic force the motive of Columbus to reach the Orient by the west and to establish commerce with it. Parallel with this great motive, to which the new world

¹ Cf. Parkman, *A Half Century of Conflict*, chs. XV and XVI, and Thwaite's *History of Rocky Mountain Exploration*.

owes its participation in the life of the old, there has been from the earliest opening of the northern regions the more immediate appeal of the fur trade, which more than any other economic interest has lifted the veil from the unknown interior of the Continent. These two influences flowed together somewhat over a century ago, and the field of their combined action was the Pacific Northwest. To that remote region the restless energy of the fur traders had penetrated in the very years when the enterprising merchants and sailors of the young United States, recently emancipated from the restraints of the British colonial system, and no longer admitted to more than a meagre share of its privileges, and still shut out from free commerce with other European colonies, sought an outlet in opening up direct trade with China. That China was a better market than Europe for furs was soon realized, and the far-seeing Astor planned a combination of the fur trade and the China trade, which in its conception was the most far-reaching commercial project which had ever been developed by a single mind in our history, and which in its political and educational results, exercised long continued influence upon the American imagination.

Again, the great pilgrimages of pioneer families to Oregon from 1843 onward reproduce more nearly than any other movements of our population the impulse, the spirit, and the character of the migration to Virginia and New England over two centuries earlier. In all these aspects early Oregon history is an epitome of American history.

Gray's discovery of the mouth of the fabled River of the West, Lewis and Clark's exploration of its course, and the treaty with Spain for the cession of the Floridas and the determination of the boundaries between the American possessions of Spain and the United States gave us our first hold on the Pacific, and fixed in a deeper sense

than before a national goal of expansion which appealed to all imaginative minds.

Henceforth in South and North, as well as West, the men whose eyes were fixed on the future whose interests were higher than cotton or the tariff, whose imagination had been kindled by the vision of a great nation stretching from ocean to ocean, more and more gathering to its broad embrace the commerce of the European world with that ancient and mysterious East, were the tireless champions of Oregon. To Oregon of all our territories in the North was there a stream of emigration from the Southern States. Oregon alone of all the territories whose acquisition has been subjected to previous popular discussion, has appealed to all sections without discrimination. Oregon was not desired to provide new territory for slavery or to preserve the equilibrium between the North and the South; nor was its acquisition opposed from similar considerations. No clash of sections, no mutterings foreboding civil war, grew out of the agitation for Oregon, as was the case with Texas; nor was the completion of our title to that part which we secured followed by crises like that precipitated by the acquisition of California simultaneously with the discovery of gold. Oregon, alone, I may repeat, was national in its appeal, looking to a future national greatness and to future international connections, alike desirable to all who had confidence in American institutions and in the capacity of man to remove physical obstacles; and Quixotic to an equal degree in the eyes of those to whom the physical obstacles seemed insuperable and of those who distrusted democratic government on the grand scale.

The second administration of James Monroe, once characterized as the Era of Good Feeling, is now universally remembered as the period of the official annunciation of the intention of the United States to play a larger part in

the development of the New World. Concurrently with the announcement that the United States would regard any attempt to control the destinies of the newly founded Spanish-American States as unfriendly, Russia was informed that we could not permit any Russian establishments on the Pacific west of the United States. This was soon followed by the renunciation by the Czar in 1824 of any territory south of the present southern boundary of Alaska, $54^{\circ} 40'$. Monroe's administration, whose foreign policy had largely been shaped on the broadest national lines by John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, closed with the way cleared for the United States to extend to the Pacific north of the forty-second parallel except so far as a limit should be imposed by England's claims to a share in the territory south of $54^{\circ} 40'$.

The northeastern boundary at that time had remained undefined for more than a generation. It is, therefore, not strange that it did not seem practicable or necessary to settle at once the northwestern boundary, so far remote from any settled habitations. An amicable arrangement providing that the territory in dispute should be open to the citizens of both countries pending a final settlement and without prejudice to the rights of either party derived from discovery or by treaty was concluded in 1818. This "joint occupation," as it was called, was agreed upon for a period of ten years and then continued for eighteen more. It implied that the territory would ultimately be divided unless one of the two parties should relinquish everything, a most improbable outcome; or the other should endeavor to take possession of the whole by force, as the United States did later in the case of the disputed area between Texas and Mexico.

This amicable arrangement for a joint occupation of the rivers and harbors, a piece of opportunism, as to the wisdom of which opinions may differ, was the signal for

opening a campaign of education in regard to the value of Oregon designed to influence public opinion to push the claims of the United States when the time of settlement should come. From beyond the Mississippi there came at once a vigorous protest from Thomas H. Benton against any recognition of English rights on the Columbia, a protest as significant as his denunciation of the relinquishment of Texas in the Florida Treaty, on the ground that it was a dismemberment of the Mississippi Valley. It meant that the people of the West, fresh from the conquest of the farther slopes of the Appalachians, would not shrink from the Rockies, or give over the work of the pioneer until their advance line was arrested by the Pacific. Two years later in Congress, Mr. John Floyd, a representative from Virginia, began the steady agitation for the occupation of the Columbia River country by the United States.

Inasmuch as the late Frances Fuller Victor and other writers on Oregon history have ascribed to a Massachusetts schoolmaster, Hall J. Kelley, the initiation of this agitation, it will not be inappropriate on this occasion to examine somewhat in detail the character of the early Oregon movement, its sources of inspiration, and to give brief sketches of its leaders. Mr. Kelley's claims for himself seems to me greatly exaggerated, and the dates of his published writings on the Oregon question indicate, I think, that instead of influencing Floyd to champion Oregon he himself reflected the movement initiated by Floyd.

Hall Jackson Kelley was born in 1790, and graduated from Middlebury College in Vermont in 1813. He tells us in after years that he projected a settlement west of the Rocky Mountains as early as 1817. His society to establish such a settlement was not incorporated until 1829, and the date of his first publication on Oregon was apparently not earlier than 1830.

How much effective influence Kelley exerted before he enlisted the interest of Nathaniel Wyeth can not easily be determined, for we have to rely mainly on autobiographic claims of a much later date which every one would acknowledge to be exaggerated, and which can not be established by satisfactory evidence. That Kelley influenced Wyeth at the start is no doubt true, but Wyeth soon lost confidence in his judgment. That his writings were not widely circulated or generally influential is the conclusion to which I am led by such study as I have given to the question. As a bit of minor negative evidence may be mentioned the fact that the Yale Library does not contain anything from Kelley's pen, although most of the early Oregon literature is well represented on its shelves.

The case is far different with John Floyd of Virginia. To him unquestionably belongs the credit of first proposing in Congress the actual occupation of the Columbia River country by the United States Government, of promoting its settlement, and of organizing it as a territory with the name Oregon, and finally, of persistently urging these measures for years. To one freshly approaching the subject the work of Floyd for Oregon seems immensely more important than Hall J. Kelley's to whom more space is usually allotted in Oregon histories.

John Floyd was born in Kentucky of a Virginia family in 1783. His academic education was received in Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, and his professional training at the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, where he received the degree of M. D. in 1806. He then settled in Virginia. After a brief service as a surgeon in the 1812 war, he entered the Virginia legislature in 1812. In 1817 he was elected a member of Congress where he served for twelve years, and was distinctly the leader of the Virginia delegation. In 1830 he was elected governor of the State by the Assembly, and again in 1831

reëlected unanimously. It was during his term as governor that the Southampton massacre in Nat Turner's Insurrection took place. An ardent supporter of Jackson, his belief in States rights was deeper. He sympathized with South Carolina in the contest over the tariff and nullification, and was honored by her electoral vote for the presidency in 1832. He died in 1837 at the age of fifty. His son, John Buchanan Floyd, rose to distinction in public life and became governor of the State and Secretary of War in Buchanan's administration.

The sources of Floyd's interest in Oregon are not difficult to discover. He was born on the frontier among the adventurous pioneers of Kentucky. His first cousin, Charles Floyd, was a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, holding the rank of sergeant, and lost his life in the earlier months of its history. The friendship of William Clark, he remarked in a speech in Congress, "he had the honor to enjoy from his earliest youth,"² and his admiration for George Rogers Clark is evinced by his naming two of his sons for him.

When Floyd went to Washington in the early winter of 1820-21 he boarded at Brown's hotel with Senator Benton, where he met Mr. Ramsey Crooks of New York and Mr. Russell Farnham of Massachusetts, both of whom had been engaged in the Astoria enterprise. Mr. Crooks, who had earlier been in the employ of the Northwest Company, went overland to the Columbia with Hunt, while Mr. Farnham had gone out in the Tonquin. Benton tells us that "their conversation, rich in information upon a new and interesting country, was eagerly devoured by the ardent spirit of Floyd. He resolved to bring forward the question of occupation and did so."³ It is sufficiently clear,

² *Register of Debates of Congress* (1828-29), vol. v, p. 150.

³ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 13.

I think, that a man of such antecedents and connections was not dependent upon the Massachusetts schoolmaster either for information or stimulus.

Mr. Floyd's motion was presented December 19, 1820, and asked for the appointment of a committee to "inquire into the situation of the settlements upon the Pacific Ocean and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River."⁴ The committee was appointed and Mr. Floyd was made chairman. On January 25, 1821, he presented the report of the committee accompanied by a bill authorizing the occupation of the Columbia River.

This pioneer report, urging the occupation of the Pacific Northwest, in its expression and embodiment of the ideas and impulses that were to shape the progress of events, bears the same relation to Oregon that Richard Hakluyt's famous *Discourse on Western Planting* bears to the foundation of the English colonies in America.⁵ It is mainly interesting to us on this occasion for the evidence it presents that the political movement for the occupation of Oregon was an outgrowth of the Astoria enterprise. After discussing the nature of the title of the United States to the territory, the committee present in glowing colors the advantages to be derived by the United States from taking possession of it. The details as to the climate, the fertility of the soil, the experiences of the Astorians, the nature of the overland route and most of all the elaborate development of the capacities of the fur trade with the East and with China show unmistakably the point of view presented by the fur traders Crooks and Farnham. The Columbia River region is to be occupied as a commercial outpost and for the exploitation of its wealth.

⁴ Benton, *Abridgement of Debates of Congress*, VII, 50. Niles, *Weekly Register*, XIX, 278.

⁵ The full report is to be found in *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 2d session, 946-958.

Nothing beyond the presentation of the report was accomplished at this session; but, as Benton tells us, "the first blow was struck; public attention was awakened and the geographical, historical, and statistical facts set forth in the report made a lodgment in the public mind which promised eventual favorable consideration."⁶

Nearly a year later Floyd reintroduced his resolution with some changes December 10, 1821. In its second form the resolution proposes an inquiry into the expediency of occupying the Columbia River *and the territory of the United States adjacent thereto.*"⁷ Just a week later he presented an additional resolution that the Secretary of the Department of the Navy be required to report to this house the probable increase in expense in causing an examination to be made of the different harbors belonging to the United States on the Pacific Ocean, and of transporting artillery to the mouth of the Columbia River."⁸

A month later, January 18, 1822, Floyd introduced a bill which provided that the President of the United States shall be authorized and required to occupy "that portion of the territory of the United States on the waters of the Columbia River," to extinguish the Indian title, make land grants to settlers, etc., and that "when the population of the settlement amounts to 2000 souls all that portion of the United States north of the 42d parallel of latitude and west of the Rocky Mountains is to constitute a territory of the United States, under the name of the Territory of Oregon" [*sic*].⁹ An outline of the proposed government then follows.

In a single year in his devotion to the Pacific Northwest Mr. Floyd advanced from the project of a commer-

⁶ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 13.

⁷ Niles, *Weekly Register*, XXI, 247.

⁸ Niles, *Weekly Register*, XXI, 270.

⁹ Niles, *Weekly Register*, XXI, 350.

cial outpost to that of a nascent state of the Union. In his first report he had thought of the settlement of the country through Chinese emigration. "It is believed," he wrote, "that population could be easily acquired from China, by which the arts of peace would at once acquire strength and influence and make visible to the aborigines the manner in which their wants could be supplied." Similarly Benton in supporting in the Senate, Floyd's early efforts, declared "The valley of the Columbia might become the granary of China and Japan and an outlet to their imprisoned and exuberant population."

Of particular interest in this second bill of Floyd's is the formal proposal January 18, 1822, to call the territory "Oregon." The name Oregon was originally applied by the author of *The Travels of Jonathan Carver*¹⁰ to the fabled river of the west which appeared on the French maps about the middle of the eighteenth century. The origin or derivation of the name has never been satisfactorily explained. Made familiar by this work, the most popular book of American travels until the narratives of the Lewis and Clark expedition began to appear, it was impressively used by Bryant in his *Thanatopsis* as synonymous with the unknown remote,—

"Those continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon and hears no sound
Save his own dashings."

After Gray's voyage the names Columbia and Oregon are used interchangeably for the river, but the circumstances of the application of the name to the territory have not before been made clear. Hall J. Kelley asserted in his later life that he first gave the name Oregon to the territory, and his claim was accepted by Mrs. Victor and in the Bancroft Histories.

¹⁰ For a critical discussion of the authenticity of Carver's *Travels* see a paper by the writer in *The American Historical Review*, January, 1906.

Kelley's first work on Oregon was published in 1830 in Boston with this title, "A Geographical Sketch of that part of North America called Oregon." Oregon is defined "as that part of North America which lies between 42d and 49th degrees north," and is west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains. It is interesting to note that in 1830 Kelley assumed that Oregon did not extend above the forty-ninth parallel. On page 7 he writes "The particular territory of which we propose some account is called Oregon; because it was included in the Louisiana purchase; and because it is watered and beautified by a river which once bore the name of Oregon, but which is now more generally and more properly called Columbia, after the name of the first American vessel that ever floated upon its waters." There is certainly no intimation here that the author is applying the name Oregon to the territory for the first time or that he had been the first to do so. Floyd's resolution that "when the population of the settlement amounts to 2000 souls, all that portion of the United States north of the 42d parallel of latitude and west of the Rocky Mountains is to constitute a territory of the United States, under the name of the Territory of Origion," antedates Kelley's book eight years.

Until an earlier suggestion than this to apply Jonathan Carver's mysterious name of the River of the West is pointed out, John Floyd of Virginia is entitled to the honor of being recognized as the the godfather of your State.

Further, I would call attention to Floyd's cautious wording in regard to the extent of the American claims in that region. No positive assertions are made. It is possible that in his resolution one month later, February 14, 1822, he intended to lead the President to commit himself on this point, for he proposes that the President inform the House whether any foreign governments have made claims

to any part of the territory of the United States on the Pacific Coast north of the forty-second parallel."

In December, 1822, Mr. Floyd made a very powerful argument in favor of his bill, which shows the results of painstaking investigation. For those who deemed the proposal "fanciful," and him a "bold projector," he recalled the rapidity with which population had spread westward between 1779 and 1822. Within the memory of living men it had moved westward upwards of a thousand miles. For those who thought Oregon too remote he asserted that now that steamboat navigation had been invented it was not farther distant in time than St. Louis had been from Philadelphia only twenty years before. For the economist and merchant he presented an elaborate study of the trade of the United States with China and the Orient, of the export trade of China, of the increasing possibilities of the fur trade, of the growing whale fishery in the Pacific. His far-seeing vision not only embraced the commerce of his own time but penetrated the future and predicted what has only recently been realized.

"The lands of the Oregon," he wrote, "are well adapted to the culture of wheat, rye, corn, barley, and every species of grain; that position will enable them to sell their surplus produce with certainty, and purchase the manufactures of China * * *."

In regard to the political expansion of this country, Mr. Floyd said: "All contemplate with joy the period when these States shall extend to the Rocky Mountains. Why not then to the Pacific Ocean?"¹² The territory will inevitably be occupied either by us and our children or by the English, Russians, or French.

¹¹ Niles, *Weekly Register*, XXI, 400.

¹² *Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 2d session, 408-409. The whole speech covers columns 396-409.

Mr. Floyd's ablest coadjutor in this debate was Mr. Francis Baylies of Massachusetts, an earlier Federalist, who had become a strong Jackson supporter. In Oregon histories Baylies of Massachusetts stands usually merely as a name with hardly more personality than Doctor Floyd and consequently in his case, too, I shall venture a few personal details.

Francis Baylies was born in Deighton, Mass., in 1783, and was elected to Congress in 1821, where he served six years. The next four years he was a member of the Massachusetts legislature. As a Massachusetts Federalist who voted for Jackson in the House in 1825, he was naturally not a pleasant person to John Quincy Adams, who wrote him down in his Diary as a "rank Federalist" and as "one of the most talented and worthless men in New England." In the neutral field of scholarship Mr. Baylies's activities would have secured approval rather than censure from the pungent diarist, for he wrote the best history of Plymouth Colony that was prepared before the recovery of Bradford's "*History of Plimouth Plantation*," a work which still retains its value. He was also at one time a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. As a resident of Taunton, not far from New Bedford, Mr. Baylies enlarged upon the advantages to the whaling industry that would accrue from an American establishment upon the Pacific, a point of view effectively justified thirty years later in the development of San Francisco as a whaling port.

In regard to the political aspects of the proposed occupation of Oregon Mr. Baylies's views exhibit a remarkable breadth of view and a penetrating foresight. It having been suggested that a too widely expanding Union would be liable to disruption, he argued that expansion would be a security against disunion. "By multiplying and extending the States of the Union, you will create so many different interests that they will neutralize each other. On some

questions the interest of the Eastern and Southern States might be found to be the same; others the Eastern and Western; others the Middle States and Southern, Eastern, and Western, and so on." Then turning back and in brief strokes depicting the wonderful growth of the Union during the memory of living men, he concluded with these striking words:

Some now within these walls may, before they die, witness scenes more wonderful than these; and in aftertimes may cherish delightful recollections of this day, when America almost shrinking from the "shadows of coming events" first placed her feet upon untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the grandeur which awaited her. Let us march boldly on to the accomplishment of this important, this useful and this splendid object, and, my word for it, no one who gives his vote for this bill will repent. On the contrary, he may consider it as one of the proudest acts of his life.¹³

A few days later in reply to the argument that the Rocky Mountains were our natural boundary, Mr. Baylies replied:

As we reach the Rocky Mountains we should be unwise did we not pass that narrow space which separates the mountains from the ocean, to secure advantages far greater than the existing advantages of all the country between the Mississippi and the mountains. Gentlemen are talking of natural boundaries. Sir, one natural boundary is the Pacific Ocean. The swelling tide of our population must and will roll on until that mighty ocean interposes its waters and limits our territorial empire. Then, with two oceans washing our shores, the commercial wealth of the world is ours, and imagination can hardly conceive the greatness, the grandeur, and the power that await us.¹⁴

I have dwelt at some length on the labors of Floyd and Baylies not only because of their intrinsic importance at this stage of the Oregon question, twenty years before the popular agitation for the occupation of the country, but because it seems to me that the significance of their labors has not been adequately appreciated. Although the House

¹³*Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 2d session, 416, 417, 422. The speech takes up columns 413-422.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 682, 683.

of Representatives voted against acting on Floyd's bill at that session 100 to 61, the educative influence of the debate and of the committee reports should not be ignored. It bore fruit not only later in the Oregon agitation, but also contributed powerfully to strengthen the desire for California which dominated Polk's administration twenty years later. All the arguments derived from the Pacific trade, the whale fisheries, the relations with the Far East applied with even greater force to California where the splendid harbor of San Francisco, the Puget Sound harbors being then unknown or unrealized, far overtopped the mouth of the Columbia.

Mr. Floyd's efforts in the House of Representatives were earnestly seconded by Benton in the Senate, who steadily from 1821 to 1846 was the sturdy advocate of occupying the Columbia River. His interest in the question he owed to Jefferson "who projected the expedition of Lewis and Clark—to discover the head and course of the river (whose mouth was then known), for the double purpose of opening an inland commercial communication with Asia, and enlarging the boundaries of geographical science. The commercial object was placed first in his message, and as the object to legitimate the expedition. "In this respect he was distinctly less prescient of the future than Floyd and Baylies, and all that I myself have either said or written on that subject from the year 1819, when I first took it up, down to the present day when I still contend for it is nothing but the fruit of the seed planted in my mind by the philosophic hand of Mr. Jefferson."¹⁵ Benton, however, at first assumed with Jefferson that when settlements grew up west of the Rocky Mountains they would naturally become independent of the United States on account of the difficulties of intercommunication. In 1828 Benton

¹⁵ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 14.

most vigorously opposed the renewal of the treaty of Joint Occupation, and advocated the settlement by England and the United States of their respective claims.

Little progress was made for four years, but in December, 1828, Mr. Polk of Tennessee moved in the House, as an amendment to the Oregon bill, the extension of the jurisdiction of the courts of Michigan Territory beyond the Rocky Mountains between 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$,¹⁶ and an exploration of the Pacific Coast between these points and of the Columbia River. Here is the first proposition in Congress to assert jurisdiction in "the whole of Oregon" in the sense of all the territory between California and the southern extremity of Russian America. It was this advanced position that was taken aggressively ten years later by Senator Linn of Missouri when he reopened the campaign begun eighteen years before by Floyd who was now dead. The spirit of territorial expansion was now rapidly dominating the Democratic party, and diplomatic feeling after Texas and California was begun in good earnest in the later years of Jackson's administration.¹⁷ This spirit was destined to become stronger and stronger; it reached its climax when "the reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon" became the party cry in 1844, and bore its fruit in President Polk's stroke for California. For a time this spirit was so imperious and aggressive that it threatened war with England in its defiant shout of " $54^{\circ} 40'$ or fight."

But these matters belong to the period following that which I have selected for treatment. I will allow myself only one remark in regard to it. As one follows the history of Oregon in Congress and in public opinion from 1820 there appears to be a steady development of interest in the Pacific Northwest and an increasing diffusion of

¹⁶ The texts of this resolution as printed read $44^{\circ} 40'$, but the debates indicate that the readings should be $54^{\circ} 40'$.

knowledge in regard to its resources. The whole spirit of the West was then as now expansive, and yet it is in this period that legend has placed the extraordinary misconception that Congress and the administration were likely to relinquish Oregon to England and that Oregon was saved to the United States by private efforts counteracting governmental and public indifference. Curious as this is the explanation in some measure is more curious still. The seed of the widely spread notion that Oregon was saved to the Union was planted by one of the great champions of Oregon, Thomas H. Benton. Ever present in Benton's arguments for occupying Oregon was the apprehension that if we did not act England would secure the whole territory. First among his five reasons for such action in 1825 was "To keep out a foreign power." He dreaded for that reason a renewal of the joint occupation in 1828. So in 1841, 1842, and 1843 when President Tyler's administration seemed absorbed in the quest of San Francisco, and disposed to consider a concession of the region between the Columbia and the forty-ninth parallel to England, about half the present State of Washington as a possible equivalent for England's efforts, if they could be enlisted, in enabling us to acquire northern California and all of Texas without war, and when the President seemed to the urgent westerner indisposed to take active measures to encourage and protect emigration to Oregon before the question of boundaries should be settled, Benton felt that such a course imperiled Oregon. "The title of the country," he writes, "being thus imperiled by the Government, the saving of it devolved upon the people, and they saved it." A few sentences later he speaks of "the task of saving the Columbia" devolving

¹⁷ John Quincy Adams' diary contains much information on this question, derived from his reading of the unpublished dispatches of the Department of State.

upon some Western members of Congress upon the people; and then a little later in speaking of the emigration of 1843 and later. "A colony was planted—had planted itself—and did not intend to retire from the position, and did not. It remained and grew; and that colony of self-impulsion, without the aid of government and in spite of all its blunders, saved the Territory of Oregon to the United States."¹⁸ These sentences published in his "Thirty Years' View," in 1856, which was long accepted as a standard historical authority on this period and most widely circulated, (it is said that sixty-five thousand copies were sold soon after publication,)¹⁹ diffused the idea that Oregon was "saved" and prepared the way for the ready acceptance of other explanations of how Oregon was saved to the Union,²⁰ when as a matter of fact it is impossible to show that the part of the old Oregon territory that the United States secured was ever in any real danger of being lost. I have ventured to touch upon this matter which lies beyond the chronological boundaries of my subject because for a long time I was puzzled as to the origin of the idea that "Oregon was saved" to the Union, and now that Thomas H. Benton, the champion of Oregon for twenty-five years, appears as responsible for it, some may think that I reject it too lightly. Benton's views, however, as to the purposes of the administration to which he was hostile, are demonstrably in error, and in not a few instances his assertions have little more value as history than the familiar "denunciations" of the policy of the party in power which are so conspicuous in our party platforms. No one, I think, familiar with the diplomatic history of the administrations from 1820 to 1846, or with the steadily

¹⁸ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 469, 477.

¹⁹ See Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors*; art. Benton.

²⁰ The history of the diffusion of the story that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon by his efforts in 1842-43 is given in my *Essays on Historical Criticisms*, New York, 1901, pp. 8-54.

increasing spirit of territorial expansion pervading the American people west of the Atlantic seaboard, could ever be convinced without the presentation of irrefutable evidence that there was even any likelihood, much less any danger that the American government, once having secured a foothold on the Pacific, would relinquish it for any consideration whatever. Its stand was explicitly taken 1826 when Mr. Gallatin, our minister to England, was authorized "to propose" the extension of the line on the parallel of 49 from the Stony Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. "This," wrote Secretary Clay, in June of that year, "is our ultimatum and you may so announce it; we can consent to no line more favorable to Great Britain." In the following August Secretary Clay repeated the statement to Mr. Gallatin, "The President can not consent that the boundary on the northwest coast should be south of 49."²¹

It would be interesting to dwell briefly upon other aspects of early Oregon history, such as the earlier Oregon literature, to estimate the contribution to popular interest in that far off Pacific Northwest of the fact that Washington Irving, the most eminent living prose writer of the country, found in the history of the Astoria adventure material for his pen not unlike that which had occupied him earlier in following the voyages of the companions of Columbus, or to enlarge upon the learning and critical scholarship which characterize Greenhow's *History of Oregon* and give it a very high place among the historical productions of that day. Or, on the other hand, to dwell upon the origin of the missions, both Catholic and Protestant, and to compare the mission work with the early efforts of Eliot and his coadjutors in Massachusetts and

²¹ *House Executive Documents*, 42d Congress 3d Session. *Foreign Relations*. Vol. on *The Berlin Arbitration*. *Memorial of the United States* by George Bancroft, p. 6, and appendix, pp. 24-25.

with those of the Jesuits in New France. Such comparisons, however, would prolong my paper beyond its allotted time.

In coming so great a distance to speak to an audience upon the history of their own home one can not help a certain feeling of perplexity as to what can be said that is new or that will be interesting. I feel sure, however, that fixing the date and place and author of the proposal to give the name *Oregon* to this Northwest will be new to some of you, and interesting to all of you; and I hope that you will be disposed to follow me when I urge that in your State, and in this Northwest, far greater honor and celebrity should be accorded to John Floyd of Virginia than has been done in the past. He, more than any one of his day, was the unwearied prophet of the commercial future of the Pacific Northwest. Certainly his speeches and reports should be reprinted and made accessible, and he should have some lasting and conspicuous memorial.

The day of bitter sectionalism is passing and the country is more united than ever before. What better symbol of this larger unity could there be than some notable memorial in this great Northwest to the Southern statesman who was its prophet and champion, who gave it its historic name and who first asserted the Pacific Ocean to be the natural boundary of his country and all in less than twenty years after the Louisiana Purchase.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

Yale University.

DR. JOHN SCOULER'S JOURNAL OF A
VOYAGE TO N. W. AMERICA.

[1824-'25-'26.]

III.

**Departing Visit to the Columbia on the Return from the Voyage
to the North and Homeward Bound.**

1 September, 1825.—In the afternoon we were of[f] the Columbia River but as it was late we did not cross the bar but stood out to sea till next day. Off the bar we saw many birds of the genera *Larus*, *Anas*, & *Colymbus*. The *Pelecanus onocrotalus* was also very abundant. This bird we did not see during our first visit to the Columbia & I was informed that it only frequents the river in the autumnal months.

3d.—We crossed the bar to-day with a favorable breeze & came to anchor in Baker's bay. Our Chinook friends soon visited us; they had heard many ridiculous reports concerning our fate, & seemed pleased that we were safe back again. During our absence they had been engaged in several quarrels & are at present as unsettled as when we first entered the river.

4th.—This forenoon we left Baker's bay & proceeded to point Ellis. In our progress we passed the burying ground of Comcomli; here in the space of two years, the unfortunate old man had deposited the remains of 8 individuals of his family. The canoes had a curious & melancholy appearance; they were covered with laced coats, silks & beads, & every article which the deceased possessed. The Indians, like our late [?] ancestors, deposit the canoes of the dead along with the body. C[omc]omly's sons had their

fowling piece by their side & a loaded pistol in each hand. Occasionally the old man visits the graves of his sons & exposes the bodies to see that all the ornaments remain about them, & if necessary to put new blankets & mats around them. Point Ellis used to be the favourite residence of the Chinooks, but since the calamities of the chief's family, Comcomly & most of his people have abandoned it.

One of the canoes contained the remains of Shalapan, the favorite son & intended heir of Comcomli. This young man, had he lived, might have raised his countrymen far above their present condition. The Indians never talk of him without shedding tears; & as a proof of his zeal to acquire knowledge it need only be mentioned that he had made some proficiency in reading & writing, & could talk English fluently.

The Chinook village presented nothing but a few skeletons of houses, as the inhabitants had removed to their winter quarters.

After dinner we left the ship & set out for Ft. Vancouver. We landed at Ft. George & found it entirely abandoned by the settlers & taken possession of by the Indians, who were rapidly reducing it to a state of ruin & filth. We left the Fort at 6 o'clock in an Indian canoe & next morning we breakfasted about 20 miles from Ft. George. The place where we stopped was a low alluvial island, covered with willows & *Cyperaceæ*, but afforded some curious plants. I found *Solanum Nigrum*, *Sagittaria sagittifolia*, *Impatiens*, *Valeriana spiralis*, & fine nondescript species of *Sisyrhynchium*, with yellow flowers. This plant might be named in honor of Mr. Douglass, who has been so zealously employed in collecting the vegetable productions of the N. W. Coast.

The north bank of the Columbia for 50 miles from the sea has an abrupt & rocky appearance, while the opposite

side is low & alluvial. At the entrance of the Wilhamut or Multnoma river the southern bank becomes more rocky. These rocks are nearly perpendicular & approximate the columnar form the regular sweep they take, describing nearly a semicircle; while those of the opposite side resemble the steps of a stair. On one of these southern [?] rocks I perceived a few rude figures cut out. As these were the only figures I saw on any part of the coast I may give a short description of them. They were only four in number, & one of them represents a canoe; the sun & moon were very distinctly represented by two of them, & the fourth consisted of those linear figures common to every uncivilised people. Below Mount Coffin we saw a canoe that had drifted down the river. On examining it we found it had drifted from that place of interment. It did not contain any bones, but several ornaments, as hyaquass, beads, etc.,—our Indians would not touch it.

On arriving at Ft. Vancouver we were happy to find all our friends well—most of them had gone into the interior to their winter stations. Mr. Douglass had gone up to the cascades, but was expected every day. My stay at Ft. Vancouver was principally employed in making excursions along with Mr. Douglass & in examining our specimens. I, however, collected very few plants, as the weather had been exceedingly dry and most of the summer flowers had dissappeared & the autumnal ones were by no means numerous.

During my stay here an Indian chief of great influence among his countrymen applied for medical aid. He was exceedingly emaciated & vomited every thing he took. The cæcum was obviously much distended with purulent matter & gave rise to the opinion that there was a great accumulation in the great intestines. As the case was obviously hopeless it was judged improper to give any active medicine. Before he died he vomited an entire

bulb of the *Phalangium esculentum*. I have been careful to relate the minutiae of this case, not in a medical view, but to illustrate the manners of the Indians. After Futillifums [?] death it was recollected that 6 months previously, while in good health, he had eaten a quantity of Camas at the house of a Kowlitch chief who was famed for his skill in medicine. The superstitious fancy of the Indians immediately took fire; they believed that their favourite warrior Futillifums had been charmed to death by the Kowlitch chief; while their resentments were yet warm a party was sent off & unfortunately succeeded in shooting the devoted [?] chief. Such occurrences as these are very frequent causes of war among the natives of the Columbia, & it is seldom that a chief of any consequence dies without some bloodshed taking place.

20 September.—To-day I took my final leave of Fort Vancouver, & it would be ungratefull if I did not on this occasion acknowledge my obligations to the kind, polite reception I experienced from every individual connected with the establishment.

Our voyage down the river was very uncomfortable as it rained almost incessantly & the wind was very unfavourable. At Mount Coffin I availed myself of the opportunity of examining the mode of interment, & to procure a specimen of their compressed skulls. The opportunity was very favourable, as the boat I was in was manned with Owyhees, who had less superstition than any people in the country, not excepting the Canadians. All the canoes of dead are placed along the steep sides of the rock near the river & none of them were placed toward the summit of the hill, which is about 150 feet above the level of the river. The canoes are not raised from the ground, as is the custom in many places. The canoes were covered by boards fixed firmly by cords & pressed down by large stones. On many of these canoes were placed carved

wooden dishes, such as they use to steam their sturgeon in. Many of the canoes were so firmly fixed that it was impossible to get a view of their interior. Unwilling to do any injury, I examined one that was very much decayed. On lifting up one of the boards I disturbed a serpent who had [taken] up his abode in the canoe; (Le Virgil) which contained a complete skeleton. In this canoe I saw many of the ornaments of the deceased, which consisted of beads, Hyaquass, & some European trinkets. The steepness of the rock prevents the canoes from accumulating, as they roll into the river when they begin to decay & are carried out to the ocean. The canoes are in some instances ornamented with feathers & boards painted with rude resemblances of the human figure. This method of burying the dead, if I may use the expression, is very affecting. The solitude of the place & the assemblage of so many objects with which we are not accustomed to associate serious ideas, deposited as mementos of the dead, can not but form an interesting contrast & give rise to the most serious reflections.

22 September.—This morning we breakfasted at the Kowlitch village & we were treated with much civility, although they were in a very unsettled state & were preparing for war in consequence of the circumstances formerly alluded to.

On arriving on board the ship much of my time was employed in procuring & preserving birds. The incessant rains we experienced at the advanced period of the year rendered the accumulation of plants hopeless. The river at this season was beginning to abound in birds. I obtained specimens of *Pelecanus onocrotalus*, *Falco*—& a species of *Vultur*, which I think is nondescript. My birds were princip[al]ly obtained from the Indians, who would go through any fatigue for a bit of tobac[c]o. I was also sufficient master of the language to explain to them what

kind of bird I wanted, & I believe had we stayed a few weeks longer I might have acquired a specimen of almost every animal in the river.

10 November, 1825.—Since leaving the Columbia on the 25 October we have been favoured with an uninterrupted course of favourable weather, which in 14 days has carried us to the Northern tropic. Previous to entering the latitude of 30° N. we were attended by many individuals of the *Diomedea fuliginosa*, a bird formerly supposed to be peculiar to the Southern hemisphere. It is remarkable that the albatross, which is so common in the N. Pacific of the American coast, should never make its appearance in the N. Atlantic Ocean.

To-day we saw the little islands of Socora & San Berto; the last named island presents the appearance of a rugged, inaccessible rock, & affords a secure retreat to the man-of-war bird & the boobies.

It is curious that notwithstanding the apparent barrenness of the rocks that a very great quantity of necessarily comminuted driftwood continued to float past us while in their vicinity. This forenoon we were so fortunate as to shoot a man-of-war bird & the Captain was so good as to send the boat to pick it up; & I had the pleasure of adding this rare bird to my collection. Convinced that preserving the skin of a bird was doing very little towards a complete knowledge of ornithology, I made as complete a dissection as I could of the *Tachypetes*. Tongue small, œsophagus very wide, & furnished with many longitudinal plicæ, which terminate abruptly at the entrance of the first stomach. The coats of this stomach are very thick, & at first sight one might imagine that it was very muscular. The muscular coat, however, does not occupy above one third of the thickness of the stomach. Between the muscular & villous coats there is a glandular apparatus, which [contains] more than a half of the sub-

stance of the viscus. This apparatus consists of an immense number of a reddish, fleshy colour & about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in length. On pressing these glands a small quantity of a whitish, viscid, oleaginous matter escapes. They open on the internal surface of the stomach & are lined by a prolongation of the mucous membrane. Their other extremities swell into a small ampulla, & the little glands are loosely connected by cellular substance. This structure as far as I am acquainted is peculiar to the Linnæan genus *Pelecanus*. I am of [the] opinion that it is merely a very well developed state of the mucous follicular glands, & that the small auxiliary glands on the stomachs of the *Procellariæ* is merely a smaller development of the same structure. This stomach terminates in the gizzard, which is nude, firm, and muscular. The convolutions of the great intestines are numerous. The pancreas is a long narrow body attached to the intestines. The liver is large & divided into two nearly equal lobes, that of the right side is a little larger & divided into smaller lobules. The structure of the animal enables it to fly to immense distances, & one sees in this bird the structure of an eagle, as far as the organs of motion are concerned, & in respect to organs of digestion a true pelican. From the extremity of the wing to the tip of the other measures 7 feet & they are moved by very powerful muscles. The sternum is round & acute & differs in no essential from that of the genus *Falco*. On the other hand its short feathery legs [are] furnished with very weak muscles & its unpalmed feet would indicate that it is not formed for swimming or diving.

15.—These few days past the air has become much more cool in consequence of the frequent showers we have experienced. In consequence of the blowy weather numerous individuals of the genus *Sula* have taken refuge on board the vessel, & easily allowed themselves to be taken.

The organs of digestion of this bird differ very little from those of the *Tachypetes aquila*. The liver & convolutions of the intestines are similar, the principal difference is in the stomach. The œsophagus is plentifully furnished with longitudinal rugæ, which terminate in a circular margin around the entrance of the stomach. The stomach is as thick as in the man-of-war bird & is furnished with a similar glandular apparatus. These glands differ from those of the *Tachypetes* in this respect; instead of forming a continuous coat it is divided into five deep sulci, separating as many glandular aggregations from one another.

Several specimens of *Sterna Stalida* were also procured. This beautiful little bird alights on the vessel in the evening & is easily caught. The œsophagus is wide & ends in a muscular stomach. The second stomach is still more muscular & the convolutions of the intestines numerous.

16 November—This morning we saw Abington island, one of the Galapagos; it has the same dreary, rugged aspect as the other islands of the group.

17.—On the approach of day we saw Albemarle island & were within twelve miles of Cape Berkeley. There are many dark spots, destitute of trees, formed by the streams of lava which have run down to the ocean; while the rest of the island is covered by a plentiful vegetation.

As a friend to natural history I could not fail wishing to land on an island so rich in the objects of zoological research.

The temperature during our present visit was far more mild than what we formerly experienced; this was no doubt owing to the cloudy weather which at present prevails. The precise degree of heat I could not ascertain, as I lost my thermometer on the N. W. Coast.

12 December.—Abundance of *Xiphias makaira* are now swimming about the vessel, probably attracted by the copper. The men succeeded in procuring one of them

but it was cut up before I was aware of it. I was enabled, however, to make a few notes. The brain was similar in structure to that of the shark. The olfactory nerves were very large, & before entering the olfactory membrane they expanded into large ganglia. The iris is of a silvery lustre; & the pupil of a deep blue colour. The sclerotic is very thin about the entrance of the optic nerve; but becomes more thick towards the circle of union with the cornea & iris. The whole membrane is of a very brittle texture. The cornea is flat, easily separated from the sclerotic, proving distinctly that these membranes are not continuous. The serous membrane which bounds the aqueous chamber I was able to detach, [?] though not in so complete a manner as the subject requires. The continuation of the conjunctiva over the livid cornea was exceedingly distinct, & I was able to trace it even to the centre of the cornea. The crystalline lens is far from being so spherical in most fishes. The interior portion is the section of a larger sphere, while the anterior part is smaller & rather flat; it has also two small lateral processes which adhere pretty firmly to the vitreous humour.

26.—This morning we were becalmed about 30 miles off[f] Easter island & remained during the whole day in this situation, as there was not a breath of wind to disturb the smoothness of the ocean.

14 January.—After losing sight of Easter island we soon fell in with favourable western breezes, which carried us at the rate of 9 miles an hour. The albatrosses which were so abundant on our outward voyage have almost entirely disappeared, & it [is] only a few straggling individuals we see in blowy weather. To-day we witnessed the agreeable novelty of another vessel. We could only learn, however, that she was the Swallow of White Haven bound for Valparaiso. It was a severe disappointment to

us that the weather did not allow us to visit them & obtain a little intelligence from home.

20 January.—To-day I had the opportunity of dissecting an albatross of which I made a very careful dissection. The cornea is very convex & the iris is of a deep brown colour. Tongue small. The larynx is double & furnished near the sternum with two cartilaginous capsules. Two muscles arise from the sternum & go to the upper part of the windpipe. The œsophagus is exceedingly capacious, but is not very muscular; & the spinal nerves supply it with abundant ramifications. The upper part of the gullet is furnished with numerous papillæ closely set and pointing towards the stomach. These papillæ probably agree in structure & use with those of the turtle; The first stomach is merely a continuation of the œsophagus & is small and very little muscular. The gizzard is small and is not very granular, & is the least muscular I ever saw. The intestines are simple, but of many convolutions. The liver was very large & two lobed; its upper part contained a small depression for receiving the apex of the heart. Gall bladder very large & filled with a dark coloured bile; its ducts were very distinctly seen going to the duodenum. The pancreas was large & its ducts equally evident with those of the gall bladder.

25 January.—From the greenish-muddy appearance of the water we suspected the vicinity of some land, & on sounding we found bottom in 75 fathoms. Next day we saw the island of Beuchene [?] about 25 miles distant, so that we could form no idea of its appearance as to vegetation. This muddy appearance of the water continued till we were in 43° S. While in sounding we saw many individuals of the genus *Aptenodytes*.

Much has been said of the stormy weather which prevails off Cape Horn; we, however, experienced very

little of it. We had generally favourable breezes & when we made land we had Royal set.

15 February.—This forenoon we had the pleasure of seeing a vessel & the weather was so fine in Lat. — S. as to allow us to visit them in the boat. We were, however, sadly dissatisfied as it proved to be Portuguese brig of war, bound for Brazil. They did not think fit to stop to give us any information.

One of the men while fighting with his companion had the misfortune to dislocate the acromial extremity of his clavical.

30 March.—To-day we spoke a small French vessel bound for the Great Bank of Newfoundland. We visited them & had the satisfaction of hearing that all was well at home, & obtained a supply of potatoes.

The climate of the Columbia district of the N. W. coast differs very much from that of the eastern coast of America in the same latitude. The heat of summer is very moderate, not any hotter than an English summer. In winter the temperature is very moderate & the frost is seldom severe; the rain, however, is incessant. The following tables will convey a pretty good idea of the weather of the Columbia.

The following tables exhibit the quantity of rain that falls on this part of the N. W. coast. If the numbers be correct, as I have every reason to believe they are, thus it will be seen that the quantity of rain which falls here is equal to what falls on the Equator. The rain gauge was placed in an open place & the quantity of water it contained was weighed every month:

<i>1822 & '23.</i>			
June	14	lb.	10 oz.
July			8 "
August	5	"	10 "
September	2	"	2 "
October	26	"	2 "
November	98	"	4 "
December	39	"	10 "
January	89	"	4 "
February	74	"	2 "
March	98	"	12 "
April	58	"	
May	24	"	2 "
<i>1823 & '24.</i>			
June	21	"	10 "
July	4	"	10 "
August	11	"	2 "
September	8	"	10 "
October	14	"	10 "
November	74	"	2 "
December	64	"	2 "
January	42	"	2 "
February	99	"	12 "
March	46	"	10 "
April	13	"	6 "
May	11	"	2 "
<i>1824 & '25.</i>			
June	59	"	2 "
July	5	"	2 "
August	14	"	10 "
September	25	"	2 "
October	30	"	10 "
November	57	"	4 "
December	39	"	12 "
January	62	"	2 "
February	62	"	2 "
March	96	"	2 "
April	56	"	2 "
May			

SECOND JOURNEY TO THE NORTHWESTERN PARTS OF THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA

DURING THE YEARS 1829-'30-'31-'32-'33.

By DAVID DOUGLAS, F. L. S.

*Reprinted from "The Companion to the Botanical Magazine," Volume II,
London, 1836.*

V.

ACCOUNT OF MR. DOUGLAS' SECOND VISIT TO THE COLUMBIA;
HIS EXCURSIONS IN CALIFORNIA.

Productive as was the first mission of Mr. Douglas to the western shores of North America, the second was undertaken under far more favourable auspices. He had acquired knowledge of the most valuable kind—that gained by *experience*, and often, as has been seen in the preceding part of the memoir, by dear-bought experience:—he was well acquainted with the language and customs of the various tribes of people on the Columbia and its tributaries;—and, in addition to his familiarity with the several branches of Natural History, he had profited so much by the able instructions of Capt. Sabine, that he could not fail to make observations in other departments of Science, especially such as should bear upon magnetic and atmospheric phenomena, and on the Geography of the countries he would visit. Hence it was that the Colonial Office, at the suggestion of Capt. Sabine, supplied him with an excellent set of instruments, and I may here remark that the result of these investigations, communicated to the Colonial Office from time to time, as well as to Capt. Sabine, has been duly appreciated by the latter

gentleman, and will, at no distant period, be laid before the public.

The expenses of this mission were, in great part, to have been defrayed by the Horticultural Society of London, of which Mr. Sabine was still Secretary; but when those changes took place in that Institution, the particulars of which are familiar to all who have felt an interest in the success of Horticultural Botany in this country, and in consequence of which Mr. Bentham became the Honorary Secretary in the room of Mr. Sabine, Mr. Douglas wrote from the Columbia resigning his appointment as Collector to the Society and he withdrew altogether from its service; sending to it, however, at the same time, all the collections he had made up to that period, but declaring his intention, nevertheless, to transmit all seeds and living plants he might procure, as a present to the Garden. This determination, which arose from some misunderstanding is deeply to be regretted, not only because we know, from our acquaintance with Mr. Bentham's character and feelings upon the subject, that this gentleman would have exerted himself to the uttermost to further Mr. Douglas' success: but because to this circumstance may perhaps be attributed the loss of nearly the whole of his Journals. To that Society, during the former expedition, they were from time to time carefully despatched; but now there was no one to whom he was bound to communicate the result of his investigations and labours: and with the remnant of his collection, sent home after his death, no Journal has appeared, save that of his *Voyage from the Columbia to the Sandwich Islands* and the *Ascent of Mouna Roa*.

All I have to offer, therefore, respecting his excursions in the Hudson's Bay territories and in California, where he reaped such a glorious harvest of plants, must be collected from his letters to his friends; and these almost

exclusively from what he sent to the writer of this article, to whom he appears to have opened his mind more confidently, and to have been more full in point of matter, than to almost any other of his correspondents, some of whom have kindly permitted a perusal of their letters. The first I had the happiness to receive from him was dated —

ENTRANCE TO THE RIVER COLUMBIA, October 11, 1830.

How much do I feel indebted to you for your long and kind letter of Christmas-day, 1829! I received it two months ago, four days after I had left my headquarters for an extensive journey in the Cordilleras of New Albion, and what a stimulus it was to me! Situated as I am, without any one of kindred feelings, to share my labours and my toils and anxiety, such a letter makes all one's troubles seem light! I should indeed be delighted to have such a companion as the gentleman whom you describe, and whom I have hitherto only known by report. More than ten times as much could be effected by the united exertions of two.

I must now pass from London to Oahu, in the Sandwich Islands, all in one line! The ship touched nowhere on the eastern shore of South America, which to me was a great loss and disappointment, for I had anticipated much advantage from researches made on that continent and the Islands of the South Seas. It was not my fortune to climb the snowy peak of Mouna Kaah, the highest ground in the known world, in that system of mountains; nor could I get to Mouna Roa, which at this instant is dreadfully agitated by volcanic fires, and has the largest crater ever seen by mortal eyes; but I did what was of more service to Botany, in scaling the lofty and rugged peaks of Mouna Parrii, the seat of the great Akua, or God of Fire. The season was unfavourable, very rainy, and being just the conclusion of winter, I could only obtain Mosses and Ferns. I hope yet to visit this place again under more favourable circumstances. I am most desirous of collecting materials for a Flora of this groupe, and think that one season, spent in botanizing among them, with the aid of the Banksian Herbarium, might effect this object. The culminating points offer almost an unrivalled field for studying the Geography of Plants from the *Line of Palms* to that of the *Lichens*. I was delighted with the people and with the kind treatment I received, especially from those individuals who had formed part of his late Majesty Riho-Riho's suite when he visited Britain. Madame Boki, the Governess of the Island, entertained me splendidly. I possess copies of all the books that had been published in Oahu, and the other Islands, splendidly bound in tortoise-shell for your library, but have at present no convenient op-

portunity of sending them. The printing and all the workmanship is done by the islanders themselves. I arrived here on the 3d of June, in eight months from London; the passage was very pleasant, as a fine, gentlemanly person, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, was Captain. The lateness of my arrival, for it was the first of July before I could leave the coast for the Interior, has been a very serious drawback; the season proving unusually early, all the vernal plants, which are by far the most numerous, beautiful, and curious here, were withered and decayed. It took me twenty-four days of hard labour to reach a very lofty chain of mountains on which I was in July 1826; I again found my *Poenia* (*P. Brownii*, Dougl. in Hook. Fl. Bor. Am., v. I, p. 27), and including all my labours, there are, I should think, fully one hundred new species, and perhaps some new genera, though I have yet only determined one, which is akin to *Oenothera*.

I have now just saved the sailing of the ship, and, after sixty days of severe fatigue, have undergone as I can assure you, one of still more trying labour, in packing up three chests of seeds, and writing to Mr. Sabine and his brother. The Captain only waits for this letter, after which the ship bears away for Old England. I am truly sorry to see her go without my dried plants, but this is unavoidable, as I have not a bit of well-seasoned wood in which to place them, and should, moreover, be unwilling to risk the whole collection in one vessel; and the sails are already unfurled, so that it would be impossible to attempt dividing them. I, however, transmit one bundle of six species, exceedingly beautiful, of the genus *Pinus*. Among these, *P. nobilis* is by far the finest. I spent three weeks in a forest composed of this tree, and day by day could not cease to admire it; in fact, my words can be only monotonous expressions of this feeling. I have added one new species during this journey, *P. grandis*, a noble tree, akin to *P. balsamea*, growing from one hundred and seventy to two hundred feet in height. In the collection of seeds, I have sent an amazing quantity of all the kinds. Your specimens are in every way perfect. I have a few Mosses and a considerable number of *Fuci*: this is a department in which I fear the Flora will be deficient; but as I am to spend this winter entirely on the coast, you may expect to receive all that are found within the parallels of the British possessions on the Pacific side of this Continent. I have already preserved some beautiful specimens of this tribe for the use of your lectures, the principal of which is *Fucus Lutkeanus*¹ of Mertens, the one which you may remember my endeavouring to describe to Mr. Dawson Turner (the author of the *Historia Fucorum*).

On the direction of my next year's route, I am not yet decided; but my desire is to prosecute my journey in north California, in the

¹ For a most interesting account of which see v. III, p. 5 of the *Botanical Miscellany*.

Valley of Bona Ventura, through which a stream of considerable magnitude flows, and finally mingles its streams with the ocean in the Bay of Montérey. If I can venture thither in safety by land, I will do so; if not, I shall go by sea to Montérey. The southern termination on the map² is the source of the river, and the spot where, in October, 1826, I had such a narrow escape from the hostile tribes³ who inhabit that country. Since that time, a party of hunters were all killed, save two, who returned to tell the melancholy fate of their companions;⁴ and again a second party has nearly shared the same fate. You may judge of my situation, when I say to you that my rifle is in my hand day and night; it lies by my side under my blanket when I sleep, and my faithful little Scotch terrier, the companion of all my journies, takes his place at my feet. To be obliged thus to accoutre myself is truly terrible. However, I fail not to do my best, and if unsuccessful in my operations can make my mind easy with the reflection that I used my utmost endeavours. My instruments are all excellent, and in the best order, and have already enabled me to make a multitude of important observations, which will go some way toward perfecting the Physical Geography of this part of the country, as well as illustrating its magnetic phenomena.

In Zoology, I possess some valuable additions to the *Fauna*, consisting of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and insects, which, as well as the plants, must remain with me till next year.

A dreadfully fatal intermittent fever broke out in the lower parts of this river about eleven weeks ago, which has depopulated the country. Villages, which had afforded from one to two hundred effective warriors are totally gone; not a soul remains. The houses are empty and flocks of famished dogs are howling about, while the dead bodies lie strewn in every direction on the sands of the river. I am one of the very few persons among the Hudson Bay Company's people that have stood it, and sometime I think even I have got a *shake*, and can hardly consider myself out of danger, as the weather is yet very hot.

The ship which sailed along with us was totally wrecked on entering the Columbia River; I am happy to say, however, no lives were lost. To this vessel I had first been appointed and then changed to the one in which I came. But for this fortunate alteration, I should have lost

² Douglas' MS. here must have been misread by his editor. He evidently said "The southern termination of his former travels was the source of the river."
—ED. QUARTERLY.

³ See pages 89-90 (March QUARTERLY).—ED. QUARTERLY.

⁴ Jedediah S. Smith with a trapping party of nineteen men in all was attacked on the Umpqua on July 18, 1824, and all but four of the party killed. A force was sent out by Dr. McLoughlin to chastise the Indians. This was probably "the second party" referred to by Douglas.—ED. QUARTERLY.

my all; and think what a plight would mine have been on "Cape Disappointment," deprived of everything. You will see the account of this disaster in the newspaper.⁵

Farewell. I am daily, in recollection, with you and your family, though so unfortunate as to be divided from you by half the diameter of the globe; still the thought of you affords me, in my lonely walks, an inexhaustible source of delight.

I thank Mr. Murray and Dr. Scouler for their kind letters; to both I mean to write in the spring, and shall send some articles of Comparative Anatomy to the latter.

To Dr. Hooker.

MONTÉREY, Upper California, Nov. 23, 1831.

In the absence of all individuals with kindred feelings, who can participate in our pleasures and console us in adversity, how cheering is the task of writing to them, and more especially when we have been long deprived of their conversation, and severed by a space of no less than half the diameter of the world! Greater still, however, is the delight with which the solitary traveller hears of the welfare of those who are dear to his remembrance in his native land. I am not ashamed to say that this pleasure stimulates me to exertion and lightens my labour. Though I have not written to you since last year, I am daily with you in thought, and were it not that I sometimes persuade myself that my feeble exertions in this country may, ere long, yield pleasure to my friends in enabling them to look at its beautiful plants, I could gladly return home, to insure you in person of my regard.

I have had only one letter from you, dated on "Christmas-day, 1829," for which I am abundantly thankful. From no other person have I received any news, and shall therefore trouble no one else with my scribbling.

On the 22d of December last (1830) I arrived here by sea, from the Columbia, and obtained leave of the Territorial Government to remain for the space of six months, which has been nearly extended to twelve, as the first three months were occupied in negotiating this affair, which was finally effected to my satisfaction. I shall now endeavour to give you a brief sketch of my walks in California.

Upper California extends from the Port of St. Diego, lat. 32° 30' to lat. 43° N., a space of six hundred and ninety miles from North to South. The interior is but partially known. Such parts of the country as I have seen are highly diversified by hills, covered with *Oaks*, *Pines*, *Chestnuts*, and *Laurels*, extensive plains, clothed with a rich sward of

⁵ The *Isabella*, Captain Ryan, ran aground on Sand Island in 1830, and was abandoned by the crew. Bancroft's History of Oregon, v. 1, p. 41.—ED. QUARTERLY.

grass; but no large streams. Well does it merit its name! The heat is intense, and the dryness of the atmosphere invariable, 29° not unfrequently, which, if I mistake not, is not exceeded in Arabia or Persia. In this fine district how I lament the want of such majestic rivers as the Columbia! In the course of my travels on the western and northern parts of this continent, on my former as well as my present journey, I have observed that all mountainous countries, situated in a temperate climate, agitated by volcanic fires, and washed by mighty torrents which forms gaps or ravines in the mountains, lay open an inexhaustible field for the researches of the Botanist. Early as was my arrival on this coast, spring had already commenced; the first plant I took in my hand was *Ribes speciosum*, Pursh (Bot. Mag. t. 3530; Bot. Reg. t. 1557), remarkable for the length and crimson splendor of its stamens; a flower not surpassed in beauty by the finest *Fuchsia*; and for the original discovery of which we are indebted to the good Mr. Archibald Menzies, in 1779. The same day I added to my list *Nemophila insignis* (Bot. Reg. t. 1713; Bot. Mag. t. 3485), a humble, but lovely plant, the harbinger of Californian spring, which forms as it were a carpet of the tenderest azure hue. What a relief does this charming flower afford to the eye from the effects of the sun's reflection on the micaceous sand where it grows. These, with other discoveries of less importance, gave me hope. From time to time, I contrived to make excursions in this neighborhood, until the end of April, when I undertook a journey southward, and reached Santa Barbara, $34^{\circ} 25'$, in the middle of May, where I made a short stay, and returned late in June, by the same route, occasionally penetrating the mountain-valleys which skirt the coast. Shortly afterwards I started for San Francisco, and proceeded to the north of that port. My principal object was to reach the spot whence I returned in 1826, which I regret to say, could not be accomplished. My last observation was $38^{\circ} 45'$, which leaves an intervening blank of sixty-five miles. Small as this distance may appear to you, it was too much for me!⁶

My whole collection of this year in California, may amount to five hundred species, a little more or less. This is vexatiously small, I am aware, but when I inform you that the season for botanizing does not last longer than three months, your surprise will cease. Such is the rapidity with which spring advances, as on the tablelands of Mexico and the platforms of the Andes in Chili, the plants bloom here only for a day. The intense heat set in about June, when every bit of herbage was dried to a cinder. The facilities for travelling are not great, whereby much time is lost: this, as a matter of course, is the case in all new countries. It would require at least three years to do any-

⁶ If his "last observation" was correct the intervening distance was about 300 miles.—ED. QUARTERLY.

thing like justice to the Botany of California, and the expense is not the least of the drawbacks. At present it is out of my power to effect any thing further, and must content myself with particularizing the collection now made. Of new genera I am certain there are nineteen or twenty, at least, and I hope you will find many more. Most of them are highly curious. As to species, about three hundred and forty may be new. I have added a most interesting species to the genus *Pinus* *Sabinii*, one which I had first discovered in 1826, and lost, together with the rough notes, in crossing a rapid stream on my return Northward. When compared with many individuals of the genus inhabiting the western parts of this continent, its size is inconsiderable, from 110 to 140 feet high, and three to twelve feet in diameter. In the aqueous deposits on the western flanks of the Cordilleras of New Albion, at a very great elevation above the sea (1,600 feet below the line of perpetual snow), this *Pine* grows somewhat larger than in the more temperate parts near the coast in a more southern parallel. I sent to London a detailed account of this most beautiful tree, to be published in the Transactions of the Horticultural Society, which you will see before this can reach you, so that I will not trouble you with a further description of it. But the great beauty of California vegetation is a species of *Taxodium*, which gives the mountains a most peculiar, I was almost going to say awful, appearance — something which plainly tells that we are not in Europe. I have never seen the *Taxodium Nootkensis* of Ness, except some specimens in the Lambertain Herbarium, and have no work to refer to; but from recollection I should say, that the present species is different from it. I have repeatedly measured specimens of this tree 270 feet long and 32 feet around at three feet above the ground. Some few I saw, upwards of three hundred feet high; but none in which the thickness was greater than those I have instanced. I possess fine specimens and seeds also. I have doubled the genus *Calochortus*; *C. luteus* (Bot. Reg. t. 1567,) is especially deserving of attention, as the finest of all. To *Mimulus* I have also added several, among them the magnificent *M. Cardinalis* (Hort. Soc. Trans., N. S. v. II, p. 70, t. 3), an annual, three or four feet high, handsomer than *M. luteus*; *Clarkia elegans* (Bot. Reg. t. 1575,) is a pretty species, but hardly equal to *C. pulchella*; it grows to four or six feet, and has entire petals. It is to *Gilia*, *Collomia*,⁷ *Phlox*, and *Heuchera*, that the greatest additions have been made: indeed, they are too numerous to mention. Something is also done among the *Onagraceæ*. Besides the new genus (*Zauschneria* of Presl) alluded to by De Candolle in his *Prodromus* (vol. II, p. 35), as exhibiting the flower

⁷A splendid groupe, consisting of some of those that have since flowered in the Horticultural Society's Garden, is given in the Hort. Trans., N. S., v. I, t. 18; and the dried specimens have afforded valuable materials for a revision of the whole Order by Mr. Bentham, in Bot. Reg. under t. 1622.

of *Fuchsia* and the fruit of an *Epilobium*, I possess another new genus, and a multitude of *Oenotheras*. Also four undescribed kinds of *Pentstemon*, two of which far exceed any of the known species, and are shrubs; and among the *Papaveraceæ*, two, if not three, new genera.⁸

One is frutescent, with a bifoliate calyx and four petals, it has the stamens of *Papaver* and the fruit of *Eschscholtzia*, with *entire leaves*. This is my *Bichenovia*, a plant worthy of the Botanist to whom I dedicate it, as he is worthy of it.⁹ The others are both annual and too curious for me to describe. By far the most singular and highly interesting plant here belongs to a genus, in some respects akin to *Salvia*; it is annual, and I have called it *Wellsia* after Mr. Wells of Redleaf in Kent (*Audibertia incana*, Benth. in Bot. Reg. t. 1469). This, with many others, I trust you may yet have the pleasure of describing from living specimens, as I have sent to London upwards of one hundred and fifty nondescript plants, which I hope will bloom next season. As I shall, if it please God, have the happiness of writing to you again shortly, I will, at present, only tell you of my projects. I am in daily expectation of a vessel from the Columbia, in which I shall embark to renew my labours in the North. Should she not arrive before the 10th of December, I will take my passage in an American vessel for the Sandwich Islands, where I shall not fail to endeavour to scale the lofty peaks of Mouna Roa or Mouna Kaah (the White or Snowy Mountain) in quest of Flora's treasures, and proceed to the North-west coast in the ensuing spring. I have met the Russian authorities twice since I last wrote to you and have received the utmost kindness from them. Two days ago I received a letter from Baron Wrangel, Governor of the Russian Possessions in America and the Aleutian Isles, full of compliments, and offering me all manner of assistance, backed by Imperial favour from the court.¹⁰ This nobleman is, as you are well aware, the Capt. Parry of Russia, keenly alive to the interests of Science and anxious to assist in every way, those who labour in this field.

Since I began this letter, Dr. Coulter, from the Central States of the Republic of Mexico has arrived here, with the intention of taking all he can find to De Candolle at Geneva. He is a man eminently calculated to work, full of zeal, very amiable, and I hope may do much good to Science. As a salmon-fisher he is superior even to Walter Campbell, Esq., of Islay, the Izaak Walton of Scotland; besides being

⁸See *Platystemon*, *Platystigma*, and *Dendromecon* of Mr. Benthham in Hort. Trans., N. S., v. 1, p. 405.

⁹*Dendromecon rigidum*, Benth. and Hook. Ic. Plant. t. 37.

¹⁰This nobleman had been, some little time previously, made acquainted with Mr. Douglas' mission through the kindness of our valued friend, Dr. Fischer, of St. Petersburg, as well as that of the Imperial Minister in London. The same subject is alluded to in a succeeding letter.

a beautiful shot with the rifle, nearly as successful as myself! And I *do* assure you, from my heart, it is a *terrible pleasure* to me thus to meet a really good man, and one with whom I can talk of plants.¹¹

RIVER COLUMBIA, Oct. 23, 1832.

Your truly welcome and highly-prized letter of Oct. 10, 1830, I had the pleasure to receive from Capt. Charlton, our Consul at Sandwich Islands, on my arrival at that place from the coast of California in August last. I esteem this mark of your regard as not the least of the many favours you have shown me. It affords me sincere delight to hear of the health of your family, and the great progress you have made in your publications, the improvement of the apartments in which you keep your collections, and the prodigious increase of your Herbarium. I carry your letter about in my notebook, and when on my walks by the side of some solitary creek, the idea not unfrequently occurs to me, that I may have overlooked some part of it, out comes your epistle for another perusal. Letters are, indeed, rare things to me in this part of the world.

I have had no opportunity of writing to you since last year by any conveyance that might be considered safe. I did so from Montérey, in Upper California, in October, 1831, and sent it by way of Mexico, under the care of our Consul at the port of San Blas; there I detailed to you the extent of my travels in that territory, and the progress of my collections, as well as gave you a brief notice of the country. This letter I hope you would receive about New Year's Day 1832.¹² The Hudson Bay Company's vessel did not arrive on the coast of California in November, as had been expected, which, in some measure, frustrated my projects. No opportunity having offered for proceeding, either to the Columbia or the Sandwich Islands in the winter or spring of last year. I continued to consider California *as still new to me*, and set to work a second time finding new plants, and drying better specimens of those which I formerly possessed. I think that I added not less than one hundred and fifty undescribed species this year, including some new genera, which will bring up the entire amount of flowering plants to scarcely less than seven thousand distinct species. I might have effected more; but being in constant dread of a vessel arriving, and sailing without me, I could not venture to be absent more than fifteen or twenty days at a time from the coast; however, as I did my best, I try to feel content.

¹¹ Dr. Coulter has, some time ago, returned to this country, with, we believe, a most extensive herbarium, formed in Mexico and California. The living *Cacti* which he sent from the former country to Prof. De Candolle of Geneva, and to Mr. Mackay of the Dublin College Botanic Garden, are particularly interesting.

¹² This, the letter immediately preceding, did not arrive till April.

I will now mention another new *Pinus* to you (*P. Venusta*,) which I discovered last March, on the high mountains of California (you will begin to think that I manufacture Pines at my pleasure). As my notes are not at hand, I must describe from memory.

Leaves solitary, two-ranked, rigid, sharp-pointed, green above, glaucous beneath. *Cone* cylindrical, three to four inches long, four to six inches round, erect; *scales* orbicular, deciduous (like those of *P. balsamea*), with an entire bractea or appendage between the scales, exerted to three or four inches and a half! When on the tree, being in great clusters and at a great height withal, these cones resemble the inflorescence of a *Banksia*, a name which I should have liked to give the species, but that there is a *Pinus Banksii* already. This tree attains a great size and height, and is, on the whole, a most beautiful object. It is never seen at a lower elevation than six thousand feet above the level of the sea, in latitude 36°, where it is not uncommon.

I saw for a second time, and in a new habitat, *Pinus Lambertiana*, more southerly on the mountains of Santa Lucia, in Upper California. Its cones were in fine condition, though perhaps a little too young and somewhat longer than those I had discovered further to the North in 1826. The timber in this new situation is the largest of all, but by no means so fine as that in the 43° and 45° of N. lat., where the temperature is doubtless more congenial to it. I have a host of new and beautiful plants; among them a fine perennial species of *Delphinium*, *D. Cardinalis*, with flowers as fine as those of *Lychnis fulgens*, and seven undescribed kinds of *Calochortus*, which make that noble genus to consist, in all, of twelve species [including *Cyclobothrya*.—ED.]

From the Sandwich Islands, I shipped on board the Sarah and Elizabeth, a South Seaman of London, and bound for that port, nineteen large bundles of dry plants, in two chests, together with seeds, specimens of timber, etc. The Captain, a worthy little man, placed these articles in his own cabin, which gives great relief to my mind as to their safety. I have written to the Horticultural Society of London (should such exist), requesting the Council to permit four of the bundles of dried plants, destined "for Dr. Hooker of Glasgow," to be despatched without delay, and further "begging that they will permit me to transfer the publication of each and all these plants, saving those which the Society may consider as coming within their plans, to that gentleman, either for an Appendix to his *Flora Boreali-Americana*, or in any other works in which he may be engaged."¹³ No one is more

¹³ I need scarcely say that this generous wish on the part of poor Douglas, has been to the fullest extent complied with, by the Horticultural Society; and the merits of this zealous Naturalist will be yet more evident, when I shall lay the account of them before the public, in the *Companion to the Botanical Magazine*. The materials are in a considerable state of forwardness, and figures of some have already appeared in the *Icones Plantarum*.

able and willing to do the Society justice, while such a proceeding would be peculiarly gratifying to me."

Of the living plants of California, introduced to the Horticultural Society, besides the species of Pine, may be mentioned the following, which have flourished in the Chiswick Garden, or been published by Prof. Lindley and others :

PLANTS INTRODUCED BY MR. DOUGLAS IN 1834.

<i>Antirrhinum glandulosum.</i>	<i>Lasthenia glabrata.</i>
<i>Audibertia incana.</i>	<i>Leptosiphon androsaceus.</i>
<i>Bartonia aurea.</i>	—— <i>densiflorus.</i>
—— <i>conferta.</i>	<i>Limnanthes Douglasii.</i>
<i>Calochortus luteus.</i>	<i>Lupinus albifrons.</i>
—— <i>splendens.</i>	—— <i>densiflorus.</i>
—— <i>venustus.</i>	—— <i>latifolius.</i>
<i>Calliprora lutea.</i>	—— <i>leptophyllus.</i>
<i>Chelone centranthifolia.</i>	—— <i>nanus.</i>
<i>Collinsia bicolor.</i>	—— <i>rivularis.</i>
<i>Cyclobothrya alba.</i>	<i>Nemophila insignis.</i>
—— <i>pulchella.</i>	<i>Enothera densiflora.</i>
<i>Douglasia nivalis.</i>	—— <i>tenella</i> , var. <i>albiflora.</i>
<i>Escholtzia crocea.</i>	<i>Oxyura chrysanthemoides.</i>
<i>Eutoca viscida.</i>	<i>Phacelia tanacetifolia.</i>
<i>Garrya elliptica.</i>	<i>Pentstemon digitalifolium.</i>
<i>Gilla achilleefolia.</i>	—— <i>staticæfolium.</i>
—— <i>coronopifolia.</i>	<i>Platystemon Californicum.</i>
—— <i>tenuifolia.</i>	<i>Psoralea macrostachya.</i>
—— <i>tricolor.</i>	<i>Ribes speciosum</i> (first, however, introduced by Mr. Collie.)
<i>Godetia lepida.</i>	<i>Trifolium fucatum.</i>
—— <i>rubicunda.</i>	<i>Triteleia laxa.</i>
—— <i>venosa.</i>	
<i>Lasthenia California.</i>	

I have still at Fort Vancouver a good bundle of plants, perhaps about seventy species, which I shall try to send, through Mr. Garry, overland this spring, for publication with *Mosses* and *Sea-weeds*, so that your Flora may be as complete as possible. At the Sandwich Islands a violent rheumatic fever prevented me from venturing at all to the hills during my short stay, and I sat and fretted enough about it. I have, indeed, had some hard work since I quitted England, of which I occasionally feel the effects, particularly in cold weather. Anxious that no time should be lost, I sailed from Monterey for those islands in an American vessel of forty-six tons burden, and had a passage of only nineteen days. What would have been thought, forty years ago, of passing over more than half of the great basin of the Pacific with such a craft? If steamboats and railroads are not in our way, we, poor wanderers, must take that what offers, sometimes good and sometimes bad. On my way to this river, and not far from its entrance, I had the pleasure to meet my old ship, the *Eagle*, and my old friend, Lieut. Grave, R.N., who handed me a parcel from Soho Square, containing the second and third parts of the *Flora Boreali-Americana*.

Singular indeed it was that I should receive this, just in the nick of time, for had it not been for a *kind unfavourable wind*, which obliged my vessel to go considerably out of her way, I should have missed her, and of course lost the pleasure of a sight of the *Flora*. I can not really express how much I am obliged to you for writing to me. If it were not for your letters, and the information they convey, I should be utterly without news, for nobody else has sent me any.

I left in California my friend Dr. Coulter, who will not, I trust, quit that country till he has accomplished every thing, for he is zealous and very talented. To De Candolle, who is his old tutor, he sends all his collections; and who can wonder at his giving him the preference? Dr. Coulter expects to be in England in the autumn of 1833; I have given him a letter of introduction to you.

RIVER COLUMBIA, Oct. 24, 1832.

This day brings me another proof of your goodness, for Dr. McLoughlin, Director of the Hudson's Bay Company, as soon as he learned of my arrival, kindly sent down the river to me several packages, among which was your friendly letter of July, 1831. Every thing you say gives me infinite pleasure, and adds to my comfort. I know not how to express my gratitude more earnestly than I did in the letter I wrote to you last night, to perform which I sat up till three o'clock this morning. I shall, without fail, replace your lost specimens of *Pines*; they were all plunged in warm water that their leaves might not fall off, a mode I always adopt with Cape Heaths—but I fear they may have been heated or jumbled about in the vessel. I am glad you have set Mr. Drummond on his legs again, and hope he will do well.¹⁴ I shall write to the Rev. Narcisse Duran, the Prefect of the Order in California, an amiable and learned man, who will receive him kindly, and do him the most signal service. I shall write likewise to Mr. Hartnel, an English gentleman, in whose house I lived at Montérey, who will also aid him. I may have an opportunity of addressing some of the Principals of the American Fur Company, to several of whom I am personally known; they are generally intelligent and kind-hearted men, much disposed to be useful. This I can easily do; for I am regarded by them as half an American, having spent so many years in the New World.

Mr. Garry is exceedingly kind to me; I have also received a long letter from Capt. Sabine, dated Charlemont Fort, Ireland, full of kindness. Nothing can be more gratifying to me than to be remembered

¹⁴This alludes to the Botanical Journeys of Mr. Drummond in Louisiana and Texas, of which an account has already been given in the first volume of this Journal. It was at one time thought he might reach the Pacific from the Mississippi, by way of California. But it was otherwise ordained.

by old friends after the lapse of so many months, and when so far apart. Capt. Sabine goes so far as to say, that he can suggest to me no improvement in the manner of taking my astronomical or other observations, or in the way of recording them. He has shown them to the excellent Capt. Beaufort, who also expressed his approbation of them, and has (I fear too partially) done the same officially to Mr. Hay at the Colonial Office. Capt. Sabine feels, I am sensible, too true a regard for my welfare not to point out my faults, and as this letter adverts to none, I may take it for granted, I trust, that he is well pleased with me. I have received a copy of Capt. Beechey's book. I entertain a great respect for that gentleman, but I think he has been too severe on the Catholic Missionaries in California. Any man who can make himself well understood by them, either in Castilian or Latin, will discover very shortly that they are people who know something more than their mass-book, and who practise many benevolent acts, which are not a little to their credit, and ought to soften the judgment of the stranger, who has probably had more opportunity of seeing men and things than the poor priests of California. Their errors are the errors of their profession, and I thus make bold to say so, having had reason to know that the individuals in question are honourable exceptions to priests in general. I am no friend to Catholicism, still I should desire to maintain my own opinion without hurting the feelings of others.

I heard of M. Klotzsch from Mr. Ferdinand Deppe,¹⁵ of Berlin, whom I had the pleasure to meet in California. Formerly M. Deppe devoted his time wholly to Natural History, Zoology in particular: but now he is partly engaged in mercantile pursuits. In Mr. Klotzsch's favourite department of Botany little has been done out of Europe, and I fear little can be effected until he, or some one of equal zeal and talent, will undertake a voyage for the express purpose—at least, we can only look for a *collection* from such a source.

What a blank we have in the department of sea-weeds! You must still look to Mr. Menzies as the main stay, though you will find some fine species in my collection from the coast of California. Fearing I may not have it in my power to visit the numerous groupes of islands so particularly rich in this class of vegetables on the North-West parts of the continent, I have written to all friends, American as well as English, residing there, and requested them to collect every thing in the shape of sea-weed, and that I may put them to as little trouble as possible, I have told [them] simply to dry them in the sun. They can, like Mosses, be revived and put in order afterwards. Scarcely a Moss exists in California. But when we consider the excessive dryness of its climate, our surprize may cease. Perhaps no where else in the

¹⁵ Many of the new plants discovered by this gentleman in Mexico are published by Schlechtendal Chamisso in the volume of the "Linne"; the same work also contains some interesting accounts of his excursions.

world is such drought felt, if we except the deserts of Arabia, Egypt, and the plains of Ispahan; and what we know of these countries on this point is vague and imperfect, the senses being generally the test. Frequently have I sunk the internal thermometer of Daniell's hygrometer many degrees below zero, until the ball of the instrument was clothed with hoar-frost, and not the smallest particle of moisture could, on the most accurate scrutiny, be detected! My Meteorological Journal is, I trust, complete, and should such be wanted, will furnish ample data for an essay on this beautiful country.

Not having received any letter from England, I can not definitively state what will be the direction of my future journey. Should I receive no fresh orders, I shall, as I stated before leaving [for?] home, proceed to the northward of the Columbia, skirting the western flanks of the Rocky Mountains, as far as convenience and safety will allow, and endeavor to reach the sea to the westward, to some of the Russian Establishments, or return by the same route, as may appear most desirable. On this point I shall be able to inform you in my next.

I have had two most kind letters from Baron Wrangel, Governor of the Russian Territories in America and the Aleutian Islands, to whom I was made known through the Russian Minister at the Court of London. In his first he writes thus, which I know it will be pleasant to you to know, as it is highly agreeable to me: "J'ai appris avec une vive joie votre intention de faire une tournée dans nos environs. Soyez sûr, Monsieur, que jamais visite ne m'a été plus agréable, et que des bras ouverts vous attendent à Sitka. Si vous avez l'intention de retourner en Europe, par la Sibirie, je puis vous assurer qu'au mois de Mai de l'année prochaine, vous pourrez commodement aller sur un de nos navires à Okotsk, où, d'après des nouvelles que je viens d'apprendre, on vous a déjà préparé un gracieux accueil." This is more than kind, and the facilities offered for May, 1832, of course hold good for ensuing years. This letter was accompanied by a copy of a volume published in 1829, *Recueil des Actes de l'Académie de St. Petersbourg*, containing some very interesting accounts of the Russian expeditions to Mount Ararat; also an outline of Mertens' labors with Captain Lutke's Pendulum and Experiments made during his voyage. The Baron wrote me a second letter, and being fearful that I might not have received his first, took care to give me the same information, backed with additional assurances of his good will. I have had the advantage of seeing Cyrill Klebinkoff, Chief Director of the Russian-American Fur Company, an excellent man, who has great claims on my gratitude, as well as several Officers of the Imperial Navy. Indeed, they seem to be a set of people whose whole aim is to make you happy. You have my best thanks for replying to Dr. Fischer of St. Petersburg; I shall write to him when opportunity offers.

I have a great desire to become better acquainted with the vegeta-

tion of the Sandwich Islands, as I am sure much remains to be done there, and before quitting that country, I made conditional arrangements with Captain Charlton, our Consul, to aid me, should I return. This I shall earnestly endeavor to do. The Consul is a most amiable and excellent man. In *Ferns* alone, I think there must be five hundred species.

I will trouble you to offer my kind regards to my old friends, Mr. Murray and Dr. Scouler, and say to the latter that I have a tolerable collection of bones for him, but as I thought he would himself enjoy the job of cleansing them, I have only cut away the more fleshy parts, by which means, too, they hang better together. They consist of a Sea Otter, entire; Wolves, Foxes, Deer, a Panther's head, etc. I shall send them by the earliest opportunity. You may also tell him that human heads are now plentiful in the Columbia, a dreadful intermittent fever having depopulated the neighborhood of the river; not twelve grown-up persons remain of those whom we saw when he and I were here together in 1825.

The following was a sort of postscript to the above letter, but addressed to a young member of my family, who often had listened with delight to Mr. Douglas' well-told tales of his previous adventures in North-West America, and had caught something of the spirit of adventure from the narrator:

"Your kind letter, dated just two years ago, gives me great satisfaction, as containing good accounts of the health and prosperity of yourself, brothers, sisters, and parents. Mr. Klotzsch's method of preserving *Fungi*, as you detail it to me, appears very excellent:¹⁶ that of scooping out the inside would, however, suit me better than the plan of boiling in tallow or grease till they are saturated: for, to tell you the truth, my dear young friend, such persons as myself, in a place like North-West America, commonly fry the *Fungi* in a little fat, if butter can not be had, and then eat mushrooms, tallow, and all together! But I will follow your and Mr. Klotzsch's plan when I have it in my power.

"Your description of the late excursions to Ben Lomond and Killin delights me highly. I only wish I could have been one of the party, whether to fish, shoot, or botanize. By this time I trust you are almost another Izaak Walton, whose book you should study diligently, if ever you would become a worthy brother of the angle. In California I had fine sport, both at fishing and hunting; the former principally sea-fish, as those of the river are few and small. This mighty stream (the Columbia) is incomparably the noblest in the world for *Salmon*, *Trout*, or *Sturgeon*, whether for quality or abundance. But in the Sandwich Islands, my dear boy, the natives *domesticate* their fish!

¹⁶ For an account of M. Klotzsch's mode of preserving *Fungi*, see *Botanical Miscellany*, v. 2, p. 159, t. 83.

They catch in the sea, when about two inches long, two kinds of *Mullet*, the *Grey* and the *White*, with another fish of great delicacy, called in their tongue *Ava*, and remove them to large ponds of brackish or partly salt water, where they are suffered to remain a few weeks, and ultimately deposited in tanks of fresh water, where they grow exceeding large and fine, and are taken out for use at the pleasure of the owner. Thus you see these fellows are no despicable fishers.

"You may tell your little brother (who wondered that I could bear to go to sea, as there were Cockroaches in all ships) that I feel now a mortal antipathy, more even than he, if possible, to these insects; for having made a great number of observations in the Sandwich Islands, the vile Cockroaches ate up all the paper, and as there was a little oil on my shoes, very nearly demolished them too!

"I have never seen the *Aurora Borealis*, about which you inquire, particularly splendid, except occasionally near Hudson's Bay; but I hope shortly to go so far to the North as to see this phenomenon in all its magnificence; you shall perhaps hear of it by my next letter.

"I trust we may yet have a fine jaunt to the Highlands together, perhaps in the summer of 1835."

By the time I reach Fort Vancouver probably I may receive another letter from you. I have only a few hours left in which to write and thank Captains Beaufort and Sabine for all their goodness. Therefore be pleased to pardon this hasty epistle, and allow me to say again how greatly I feel obliged and gratified by this last token of your esteem, and to permit me to assure you that it is not bestowed on one who is incapable of feeling and appreciating it.

INTERIOR OF THE RIVER COLUMBIA,
Lat. 48° 5' N., long. 119° 23' W., April 9, 1833.

Early last November, by the arrival of the annual express across the continent at Fort Vancouver, I had the great pleasure to receive your very kind and truly welcome letter of May, 1832, accompanied by a memoir of the late Capt. Carmichael, and a notice of the late Mr. Barclay from the *Botanical Miscellany*. I can not tell you with what fervour I peruse your letters, especially at this distance from home. When I tell you that your epistle was the only one I had received for a whole year, saving a short one from the excellent Mr. Garry, who most punctually forwarded your parcel to me, you will perceive how very precious a thing a letter is to me now-a-days.

Botany and ornamental gardening have sustained a great loss in the death of Mr. Barclay; the more to be regretted as no one seems to take that place which he held for so many years with honour to himself and advantage to the Science as one of its most liberal patrons. Last October, from the entrance of the Columbia River, by the last vessel which sailed for England, commanded by my excellent friend, J. E.

Grave, Lieut. R. N., I wrote you at some length, and then mentioned that I had shipped in the Sandwich Islands, on board the *Sarah* of London, a South Sea-man, bound for London direct, the whole of my California collection. This vessel sailed from the Island of Woahoo on the 8th of September. Since I wrote to you, the season being winter, I have little new to communicate; during the interval I have made a journey, as I proposed, North of the Columbia, to New Georgia, and a most labourious one it was. My object was to determine the position of the Head Lands on the coast, and the culminating points of the many prodigiously high snowy peaks of the Interior, their altitudes, etc., and as I was favoured with exceedingly fine clear weather, this was effected much to my satisfaction. On this excursion I secured about two hundred species of *Mosses*, but as I am rather ignorant of this tribe, there may be a few more or less; certain it is, however, that there are many fine kinds that are totally unknown to me; and perhaps even you may find some of them new. I have also some interesting *Fuci* from Puget's Sound, collected on the same journey, three of which are decidedly not in Mr. Turner's work, and very noble species they are. I have bespoken the services of all the Captains on the North-West coast, to bring me all sorts of sea-weeds, simply coiled up, dried and put in a bag. This winter has been drier, but far more severe than the preceding season. The Columbia was closed with ice for four weeks at Menzies' Island, where it rather exceeds a mile in breadth, the thermometer indicating 22° of Fahrenheit, which is bitterly cold for the shores of the Pacific in the parallel of 45° . This gave me an excellent opportunity of multiplying my astronomical observations, on the angular distance between the moon's limb and the sun: the planets Venus, Mercury, Saturn, and Mars, and the fixed stars: not less than eight thousand observations in about six hundred sets, separately computed for the purpose of ascertaining the absolute longitude of Fort Vancouver. Besides, I observed the beautiful eclipse of the moon on the night of January the 5th of this year, with many of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. Indeed, my whole skill was exerted on these operations, in order to obtain their position with the greatest accuracy, as all my chronometric longitudes are reduced to that meridian. I merely mention these things that you may not tax me with idleness, a character with which I am charged by the Londoners, and perhaps more deservedly in that great metropolis than elsewhere. I hope that you have not finished the fine Order *Conifere* in the *Flora Boreali-Americana*, that you may include the *Pines* discovered in my late journeys, viz., *Pinus venusta*, *Sabini*, and *grandis*.

I quitted the ocean on the 19th of March, and followed the course of the river to this spot, picking up a few of the early-flowering plants, and better specimens of others which I had already possessed: among them are some novel species of *Platyspermum*, *Thysanocarpus*, and

Ranunculus: a new *Phlox*, and a few Mosses. The disparity of climate between this point and the coast is very striking, though the difference of latitude be only 3° , and of longitude 6° . There, in the middle of March, many plants were in bloom; while here last night we had a new fall of snow of some depth, and the ground is still speckled with old snow.

I proceed to give you a short sketch of my intended movements this year.

As soon as the season permits, which I trust will be in a few days, I shall leave this spot for the northward, travelling sometimes in canoes, or on horseback, but far more generally on foot. The country is mountainous and very rugged, the rivers numerous, and there are not a few lakes of considerable extent. Perhaps I shall cross Mackenzie's track, at Fraser's River (called the Columbia by that great traveller) in about long. 122° West, and proceed northward among the mountains, as far as I can do so with safety, and with the prospect of effecting a return. The country is certainly frightful; nothing but prodigious mountains to be seen: not a deer comes, say the Indians, save once in a hundred years—the poor natives subsist on a few roots. My outfit is five pounds of tea, and the same quantity of coffee, twenty-five pounds of sugar, fifteen pounds of rice, and fifty pounds of biscuit: a gallon of wine, ten pounds of powder and as much of balls, a little shot, a small silk fishing-net, and some angling tackle, a tent, two blankets, two cotton and two flannel shirts, a handkerchief, vest, coat, and a pair of deer-skin trousers (not those kindly presented to me by Dr. Gillies, which, by repeated exposure to rain, shrunk so much that I was reluctantly obliged to give them away), two pairs of shoes, one of stockings, twelve pairs of moccasins, and a straw hat. These constitute the whole of my personal effects; also a ream and a half of paper, and instruments of various kinds; my faithful servants, several Indians, ten or twelve horses, and my old terrier, a most faithful and now, to judge from his long grey board, venerable friend, who has guarded me throughout all my journies, and whom, should I live to return, I mean certainly to pension off on four pennyworth of cat's-meat per day.

I am most anxious that you should know what I see and do on this important journey, and as it may so turn out that I shall never have the pleasure of meeting you more, I intend, God willing, to commence writing a little to you on the very first evening of my journey, which is fixed for the 18th, and continue thus to condense, from time to time, the substance of my notes, putting down whatever may appear most important and interesting to me.

Fever still clings to the native tribes with great obstinacy, and not a few of the people of the Hudson's Bay Company have suffered very severely from it. Only three individuals out of one hundred and forty

altogether escaped it, and I was one of that small number. Thank God, I never was in better health, and could I have but a few moments with you, I might add, in excellent spirits. Even the employment of writing to you, tends to enliven my mind. It is singular, that while my left eye is become infinitely more delicate and clear in its power of vision, the sight of my right eye is utterly gone; and, under every circumstance it is to me as dark as midnight. If I look through a telescope or microscope, I generally see objects pretty well at a short distance, but the least fatigue brings on a *doubling* of the object, with a surrounding vapory haze, that soon conceals everything. These results were owing to an attack of opthalmia. in 1826, followed by snow-blindness, and rendered irretrievable by the scorching heat of California. I use purple goggles to diminish the glare of the snow, though most reluctantly, as every object, plants and all, is thus rendered of the same colour.

If you happen to be acquainted with Mr. James Wilson,¹⁷ of Edinburgh, brother of the celebrated Professor of that name, I beg you will offer him my sincere respects, and say that I have a few things for his "Illustrations," and a fine collection of birds for the College Museum.

WOAHOO, Sandwich Islands, May 6th, 1834.

I am two letters in your debt, for last autumn, at the Columbia River, I had the great pleasure to receive, through Dr. Meredith Gairdner,¹⁸ a very long letter from you: and the same happiness was conferred on me on the 16th of April, by your last. which was exactly a year old, and in which you mention having addressed me just two two months previously. I imagine this last letter must have been sent by Captain Back, or the annual express of the Hudson's Bay Company; but I had left [for] the sea before the express arrived.

My meeting with Dr. Gairdner afforded me heart-felt satisfaction, not only because he is a most accomplished and amiable young gentleman, devotedly attached to Natural History, and warmly recommended by you, but also because he told me of your health, and that of your family: the additions to your Herbarium, etc. I endeavored to show him the attentions to which every friend of yours is justified at my hands, and only regret that our time together was so short: for he is a person whom I highly respect. Mr. Tolmie had quitted the Columbia

¹⁷ Mr. Wilson was, at the time, engaged in publishing his beautiful *Zoological Illustrations*.—ED.

¹⁸ This accomplished gentleman, together with Mr. Tolmie, one of my most zealous botanical students, I had the pleasure of recommending to medical appointments in the Hudson Bay Company's possessions on the North-West Coast of America. The latter gentleman is stationed at Fort McLoughlin in Millbank Sound, N. lat. 52°.

for the North-West coast before I arrived, and thus deprived me of the pleasure of seeing an old student of yours. I wrote to him twice, indicating those parts of the country which promise to yield the best harvest to the Naturalist, and particularly requesting his attention to the sea-weeds, but have not heard from him since, nor indeed at any time. I much regret not having seen this gentleman, for I could have told him many things useful for a young man entering this country as a Botanist or traveller to know. However, I explained them all to Dr. Gairdner.

You will probably enquire why I did not address you by the despatch of the ship to Europe last year. I reached the sea-coast greatly broken down, having suffered no ordinary toil, and, on my arrival was soon prostrated by fever. My last letter to you was written from the interior of the Columbia, and bore date about the middle of April, 1833 (last year), just before starting on my northern journey. Therein I mentioned my intention of writing a few lines to you daily, which I did, up to the 13th of June, a most disastrous day for me, on which I lost, what I may call, my all! On that morning, at the Stony Islands of Fraser's River (the Columbia of McKenzie,—see the map in his 4to edition), my canoe was dashed to atoms, when I lost every article in my possession, saving an astronomical journal, book of rough notes, charts and barometrical observations, with my instruments. My botanical notes are gone, and, what gives me most concern, my journal of occurrences also, as this is what can never be replaced, even by myself. All the articles needful for pursuing my journey were destroyed, so that my voyage for this season was frustrated. I can not detail to you the labour and anxiety this occasioned me, both in body and mind, to say nothing of the hardships and sufferings I endured. Still I reflect, with pleasure, that no lives were sacrificed. I passed over the cataract and gained the shore in a whirlpool below, not however by swimming, for I was rendered helpless and the waves washed me on the rocks. The collection of plants consisted of about four hundred species—two hundred and fifty of these were mosses and a few of them new. This disastrous occurrence has much broken my strength and spirits. The country over which I passed was all mountainous, but most so towards the Western Ocean:—still it will, ere long, be inhabited. I have written to Mr. Hay, Under Secretary of State, respecting the boundary line of the Columbia, as the American government is anxious to obtain a footing there.¹⁹

¹⁹The following are some further particulars of this disastrous voyage, given to me by Archibald McDonald, Esq., a gentleman in the Hudson Bay Company's service, who visited Scotland, early in the year 1835:

"Agreeably to your wish, Sir, I proceed to commit something to paper, connected with our friend Douglas, in case it may assist the design which his friends entertain of laying something before the public, prior to Mr. Douglas' own return to England. It is very little that I can say, beyond what is expressed in his own

After this misfortune, in June, I endeavoured, as far as possible, to repair my losses, and set to work again; and I hope some good new species were obtained for the *Flora Boreali-Americana*, which I am very anxious should reach you without delay. It is more than probable that I may have the pleasure of presenting these to you myself, say in March next, as it is my intention to return to England by the very first opportunity; and I hope this small collection may give you some satisfaction, as it is all I can now offer you from North-West America. It reconciles me somewhat to the loss, to reflect that you now have friends in that country, who will probably make up the deficiency. I have given Dr. Gairdner my notes on some more new species of *Pinus*. This gentleman and Mr. Tolmie will have a good deal to contend with. Science has few friends among those who visit the coast of North-West America, solely with a view to gain. Still with such a person as Mr. McLoughlin on the Columbia, they may do a great deal of service to Natural History.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

letters: but, little as it is, I have thought it a good plan to accompany it with a rough topographical sketch of the country, to which you can refer to the relative directions of places, though not for a correct scale of distances.

"On his arrival in the country, May, 1830, Mr. Douglas ascended the Columbia for some distance, returning in September, when he soon took his passage in one of our vessels for California. There he remained till the autumn of 1832, and, in October of that year, returned to Fort Vancouver, by way of the (Sandwich) islands, and spent the winter in that vicinity, in the most advantageous way he could, principally in Astronomical pursuits.

"Early in March, 1833, he met me at Puget's Sound, and we returned together to Fort Vancouver, on the 20th, of the same month, when he embarked with our people, who were crossing over to Hudson's Bay. He landed at Oakanagan, whence he proceeded with the cattle party to Thompson's River, Alexandria and Upper Caledonia. At Stuart's Lake he found one of the Company's officers preparing to set out on an exploring expedition, down Simpson's River, which falls into the Pacific, two or three degrees north of Mackenzie's small river, and was much disposed to accompany him: but fearing they could not reach the sea, or any of our settlements on the coast, and would in that case lose time, and be disappointed in other projects he had in view, he did not join the party. With his man Johnson, he shipped himself in a small bark canoe down to Fort George; there he remained a day or two with Mr. Linton, and, on the second day after he had commenced descending the stream, he experienced the disaster, which he communicated in the letter to yourself. From Alexandria Mr. Douglas got back to Thompson's River, and Oakanagan, by the same route that he went, and with the same means that he had from our people in Spring. At Oakanagan he took two Indian canoes, and, when half way down to Walla-wallah, on the 14th of July, met Mr. Conolly, of New Caledonia, and myself, on our way up the river, with supplies for the Interior. He continued some days at Walla-wallah, with Mr. Pambrun, making occasional journeys to the Blue Mountains, and finally attempted the ascent of Mount Hood. In the month of September, 1833, I received a letter from him, stating that he was on the eve of sailing again for the Sandwich Islands.

"EDINBURGH, 20th January, 1835."

"ARCHIBALD McDONALD."

THE HISTORICAL CONFERENCE.

The historical congress arranged for through the coöperation of the Oregon Historical Society and the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association with the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition Committee on Congresses held sessions at Portland on August 21, 22, and 23. As a Pacific Coast meeting it had the great good fortune to secure the presence and participation in its deliberations of Professor E. G. Bourne of Yale University, Dr. R. G. Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh of Iowa University, and Mr. James K. Hosmer of Minneapolis. Principal William I. Marshall of Chicago was also in attendance and participated in the discussions.

The first session was held on the evening of the 21st in the First Presbyterian Church. The Honorable William D. Fenton, acting-president of the Oregon Historical Society, presided. In a paper on "The Unity of History," Honorable H. W. Scott, editor of the *Morning Oregonian*, discussed the meaning and use of history. These he held to consist in the relation of cause and effect between events. The two main factors that determine the ordered course of evolution in the history of mankind are "characteristics of race and variation of physical circumstances." While "every great man is a product of his time and of times preceding his own" and "works in conditions and upon materials that he finds round about him," yet he is capable of starting "great changes," accelerating "every movement about him," giving "force and direction to unorganized activities" and hurrying "forward to results tendencies of the age or time." Using these ideas the author gave char-

acteristic interpretations of some of the great epochs in the history of the race.¹

The second paper of the evening was given by Professor Bourne, who discussed some of the salient facts in Oregon history prior to 1840. After some keen characterization of the earlier movements of exploration of the Pacific Northwest, in relation to the general movement of exploration of the continent and pointing out of parallels between the occupation of Oregon and the settlement of the Atlantic Coast, he developed the part Congressman John Floyd of Virginia had in bringing the interests of the United States in the Oregon Country to the attention of Congress. Professor Bourne was inclined to give Mr. Floyd the credit for taking the initiative in the agitation of the Oregon Question that has more commonly been assigned to Hall J. Kelley. It was Floyd who first applied the name "Oregon" to this region. It before had been used to designate only a river. For these services of Floyd Professor Bourne thought him deserving of more prominent recognition among the makers of Oregon. The expression which conveys the idea of a saving of Oregon Professor Bourne thought originated with Senator Thomas H. Benton, but he took the ground that there was never a condition of fact warranting its application.²

Mr. Hosmer reviewed the points of significance in the exploration of Lewis and Clark, using the Greek myth of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, to indicate the distinctive character, exploits, and methods of Lewis and Clark among American explorers.

The sessions of the second day were taken up with a conference on the "organization and development of his-

¹This address of Mr. Scott's is given in full as the first paper of this number of the QUARTERLY.

²This address of Professor Bourne's is given in full as the second paper of this number of the QUARTERLY.

torical activities on the Pacific Coast." Mr. Thwaites was in charge and had the conference take on an informal and round-table character from the start. Professor Shambaugh, who as a member of the special committee of the American Historical Association investigating this subject had been assigned the societies west of the Mississippi River, reported on the condition and prospects of these organizations. He distinguished the different types of state societies to be found and developed generalizations as to the leading lines of activities essential to a normally constituted state historical society. These functions were, he thought, the collection of historical materials, the publication of historical contributions, and the supervision of research work. In a natural organization of activities local societies work in harmony with the state society and the latter would coördinate its work with that of the American Historical Association. Probably the most pressing need in the work of the state historical societies is that of a critical appreciation of sources and the prosecution of lines of critical investigation. For this reason the state societies should keep in touch with colleges and universities. In conclusion Professor Shambaugh spoke of the special work characteristic of some of the leading societies of the West. As George W. Martin, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, was present, he was called upon by Doctor Thwaites to explain the special methods, aims, and successes of the Kansas society.

As the Lewis and Clark Centennial celebration was inspired by the Oregon Historical Society, and this congress was largely under its auspices, it was natural that the Oregon society should receive special attention. It had been concerned to get the counsel of specialists on its problems. There was a statement of the conditions in its field affecting its work and an outline of its plans for the future. The plasticity still retained by the social organi-

zation of the Far West gave special warrant for an emphasis on ideals. The exigent need of the best light of experience for the solution of state problems called for an active and intimate connection of the work of the society with the life of the commonwealth.

The assets out of which the society had developed its strength were the great wealth of pioneer sentiment and special charm of an heroic past in its community's life. On these it had grafted an appreciation of the importance of the collection and publication of contemporary records. It was not confronted by any rivals. But owing to the separation of the center of population from the State capital and the home of the State University, an ideal location for the society was impossible. This space problem is, however, recognized as a matter of diminishing importance in library activity. That the society might become the center of vigorous historical activities in the State, it was held, that it must build up a library of research, maintain meetings from which the largest benefits of association and coöperation are derived, must supervise the archives of the State, and conduct administrative and legislative reference library for the commonwealth. The assumption of these functions in the life of the Oregon commonwealth would be in harmony with the widest application of the principle of coöperation among the agencies for the promotion of the higher interests of its people; it would bring into largest and most effective play scientific methods and principles for the shaping of the future of Oregon; and would at the same time result in the best selection of data for future history and provide for the highest utilization of them from day to day.

The afternoon session of the 22d was taken up with reports by representatives of the different States and sections of the Pacific Coast. The Hon. C. B. Bagley, president of the Washington State University Historical Society, though unable to be present, had sent a statement on the

Washington historical activities. He spoke of the important early individual work of Elwood Evans and James G. Swan. The "Washington State Historical Society" was organized at Tacoma in 1891. Owing to indifferent support and failure to receive State aid it had about lapsed. However, its present secretary, Mr. Edwin Eells, was in attendance on the conference, and reported the steps taken to merge with the recently organized Washington State University Historical Society. Mr. T. C. Elliott represented the Walla Walla country, and Mr. Trimble from Spokane expressed strong interest in the prospects of co-operation among the Coast societies. Ezra Meeker, a pioneer who came across the plains in 1852, spoke of his plans to retrace the "Old Oregon Trail" and mark its location at points of interest. This was to be the first step to secure some action to perpetuate its memory. Professor J. R. Robertson of Pacific University, one of the small band of investigators in Oregon, spoke enthusiastically of the opportunities that the field afforded in all lines of research. Professor C. A. Duniway of Stanford University described what was being done by societies engaged in historical activities in California. The pioneer associations had done good work in gathering some valuable memoirs. The Native Sons had assisted in this work and the Landmarks League was rendering good service in preserving and marking historical sites in the State. Professor Duniway urged such organization of the societies of the Pacific Coast as would secure an annual meeting for the discussion of papers and the promotion of research.

Governor Prince of Sante Fé, president of the historical society of New Mexico, gave a very interesting talk on the wealth of historical material in the Territory of New Mexico. There were three distinct epochs of history there, the present epoch reaching back to the time of the American occupation of the country, from that to the beginning of the Spanish dominion of the country, and prior to that

there were the centuries when a marvelous civilization held sway.

Professor E. G. Bourne spoke from the standpoint of an Eastern student who had had occasion to investigate closely some phases of Oregon history. He counseled coöperation and the encouragement of private collectors. Miss Mary Frances Isom of the Portland Public Library told of the collection of Oregoniana that had been made by that institution. Active efforts in this line had been interrupted, but they were to be resumed. Mrs. Eva Emery Dye argued that the race of people found on this coast by the first white men were descendants of Asiatic races through stray shiploads stranded on these shores and had retrograded from higher planes of civilization. Mr. George H. Himes, whose duties as assistant secretary of the Oregon society has given him large experience as a collector of historical material, spoke of some of the conditions met with in that work.

The degree of isolation that the historical organizations of the Pacific Coast have to contend with deprives them of the advantages of division of labor and coöperation, of the aid of mutual suggestion, and the stimulus of emulation. It was proposed through federation to obviate these disadvantages as much as possible. A committee was appointed, consisting of Professor F. G. Young of Oregon, Professor C. A. Duniway of California, Professor E. S. Meany of Washington, Professor E. M. Hulme of Idaho, and Professor ——— of Utah. This committee is to devise and put into operation such a plan of union of the historical societies, state and local, of the Pacific Coast, and apply for such affiliation with the American Historical Association as will secure the largest measure of coöperation and thus promote activities of collection of sources and of prosecution of historical research.

The session of the third day was under the auspices of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Asso-

ciation. Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon presented a paper on "The Location of the Sources of the History of the Pacific Northwest." He pointed out the principal epochs in the development of this region, and gave a critical estimate of the value of the different sources of the history of each epoch. He used as a nucleus bibliography, to be segregated and supplemented, the lists given in H. H. Bancroft's volumes on the "Pacific Northwest" and "Oregon." A general statement of the contents of each of the principal collections on the coast was then given.

The last paper of the congress was read by Professor C. A. Duniway. His subject was "Slavery and the Negro Question in California." He showed that, notwithstanding the formation and adoption of a constitution excluding slavery, almost immediately decidedly pro-slavery leanings were exhibited by the judicial, administrative, and legislative authorities in the State. Not a few slaves were held in the State until freed by the Lincoln's proclamation and the adoption of the thirteenth amendment. The State passed several laws denying equal civil and political rights to the freedmen. These facts were elicited from court records, manumission papers, and interviews with colored people who had been held in bondage, as well as from contemporary newspapers.

A pleasant social feature of the congress had been the daily gathering around the history tables for luncheon at the American Inn. The spirit and enthusiasm of the congress had a fitting culmination at the banquet tendered on the evening of the third day at this Inn by Mr. and Mrs. William D. Fenton to the speakers at the congress and others in attendance from abroad. The social and historical success of the congress was strongly in evidence in the sentiments expressed by our honored guests from beyond the mountains and the plains.

FIRST REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

By FREDERICK WIGHTMAN MOORE, Secretary of the Conference.

*Reprinted from the Annual Report of the American
Historical Association for 1904.*

In accordance with an invitation emanating from the programme committee of the American Historical Association, a conference of state and local historical societies was held in Chicago on the morning of Thursday, December 29, 1904, in connection with the annual meeting of the national association.

The conference was called to order at 10.30 a. m. in the library of Reynolds Club House, University of Chicago, by Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, who had been designated by the committee as chairman of the meeting. Frederick W. Moore, of the Tennessee Historical Society, was selected by the delegates as secretary.

The chair briefly stated the objects of the gathering to be an informal consultation concerning the problems which beset the societies and the state departments of archives and history. The invitation extended to the organizations and departments had in the main been restricted to those of the West and South, because, in the opinion of the committee, the eastern societies were not as a rule confronted by the questions which troubled those in the newer States. Institutions invited to attend had been asked for suggestions. Many had replied, their letters covering so wide a range that it was apparent that a two hours' meeting would unfortunately not suffice to touch

upon a title of the interesting discussions proposed. It had therefore been determined by the committee to restrict discussion at this first conference to two points—the best methods of organizing state historical work and the possibilities of coöperation between societies.

Under the first head—forms of organization and the relation of the work to the state government—Thomas M. Owen, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama, opened the discussion. Mr. Owen enlarged upon the duties which each State owes to its archives and history, and advocated the organization of a state department of archives and history charged with the duty of caring for the archives of the state departments and the local government, as well as the collection of miscellaneous historical material and the diffusion of historical knowledge. The possibility of establishing a practical, non-partisan department was illustrated by the example of Alabama, where the personnel of the first board was specified in the creating act, and that board made practically self-perpetuating, subject to confirmation by the senate.

Warren Upham, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, presented arguments in favor of this work being performed by well-established societies and done at public expense. Professor Upham spoke as follows:

Although in some of the States, especially where historical work is now for the first time being actively and systematically undertaken, a department of archives and history may be found most efficient and practicable, I believe that even there historical societies should be formed for coöperation with the state department of history, and that in most or all of the States which have long had such societies their services are more comprehensive and valuable than can be rendered by an official state department.

The society enlists the interest and aid of its large membership, representing personally many or all of the counties or other large districts of the State. Each member is expected to aid by gathering details of the pioneer settlement and subsequent history of his county, township, or region; by donating local publications, mostly pamphlets,

as reports of the schools, churches, local societies, fairs, etc., for the society's library; by securing historical relics for its museum and portraits of early settlers and prominent citizens for its state portrait collection, and by writing on themes of the local history for its meetings and publications. Through invitation and solicitation by the secretary and other officers of the society it may thus receive addresses and papers on any theme of the state history, or that of any county, city, town, or village, by authors having accurate knowledge, responsibility, and pride for the district or the subject so presented.

In their relations to the state governments and to state support by legislative appropriations the state and local historical societies of the older States receive little or no state aid, while yet rendering great services to the people in each of the New England States, in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan. These societies, through financial support by their membership, supplemented in many cases by State assistance for printing, have gathered very important historical libraries, museums, and collections of portraits, and have issued extensive series of publications on the history of these several States.

Contrasted with these eastern historical societies we have in five of the Western and Northwestern States, namely, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, societies which have long received nearly all the means for their very extensive work from state appropriations, being thus on the same footing with the other institutions of public education. Besides the collection of all published books, pamphlets, maps, etc., relating to the state history, these five societies gather the current newspapers from all parts of their respective States and preserve them in bound volumes, doing this more fully than has been attempted elsewhere in the United States, but similarly with the British Museum, which thus preserves all the newspapers issued in Great Britain. The newspaper departments of these state historical libraries are priceless treasuries of materials for future historians, showing the development of these States and of their counties and separate townships from their beginnings.

Each of the States, whether aiding their historical societies little or much, is served continuously and zealously and gratuitously by the boards of officers and by the membership of these societies. Several features of this service are notable. It is not determined by political election or appointment, nor dependent on changes of the general state administration; it extends through very long terms of membership, and often of official relations; its changes of officers are decided by the members of the society or by a large number of their representatives forming the society's council, and constant and efficient

work for the increase of the library and other collections of the society is carried forward by frequent meetings and regular publications.

To mention finally what I deem the highest merit and crowning honor of the local historical societies, they are shown by their results, extending in some of the old States a century or more and in the Northwest more than half a century, to be nobly useful by the discovery and development of historical workers, local antiquaries, and the persons in every part of the several States who have been best qualified for historical researches and for rescuing the past from forgetfulness.

A. C. McLaughlin, director of the Bureau of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was introduced and asked to state the plans of that institution. These look rather to aiding than to undertaking research. In this respect the interest and appreciation of the historical societies of the country is desired. It is hoped that the institution may be of service to them and that, by proper correlation, duplication of work and needless searching may be avoided. The institution hopes eventually to secure the transcription of all American documents in European archives, as well as to calendar all collections of such transcripts already in the United States. The last undertaking will be entered upon immediately — the former will, in due course, be carried forward in connection with the Library of Congress.

The question of the possibilities of mutual coöperation between societies, state and local, was then taken up. C. M. Burton, president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, spoke substantially as follows :

The purposes for which historical societies should coöperate would be to prevent needless duplication of matter in their published reports and proceedings and the gradual preparation of an index to all printed historical material, so as to provide a ready access to such matter for students and investigators.

There are two classes of historical societies — those maintained by private donations and dues of members and those maintained by legislative donations. The publications of the first class of these societies is frequently confined to a small edition to be distributed only among the members of the society. In the second class the published works

are sometimes distributed, as in Michigan, to all libraries in the State, and are thus used for popular instructions among the citizens and in the schools. As a general rule both classes are in want of funds for the proper management of the societies and are unable to do all that they desire or all that they ought to do in the proper line of historical research and work.

It has frequently happened in the past that two societies will collect and print in their publications, papers, and documents that have already been printed by some other society. This sometimes occurs because the two publications are issued at the same time and the publishing societies are ignorant of the works of each other. Sometimes this duplication occurs because the second publisher was ignorant of the former publication. It has also sometimes happened that one society will print a portion of some important document, omitting portions not of interest to the State or locality of the society, although the omitted portion may be of great interest to some other locality.

It is not always best to omit publication of documents simply because they can be found printed in some other publication. In the publication of a series of documents it would detract from their value somewhat to find a statement that some one or two were omitted because they were printed in the proceedings of some other society, while it would be a needless expense to any society to reprint an entire collection of documents because they applied to the locality of the society if the original print could be readily secured.

For the purposes of coöperation to avoid this unnecessary duplication it is suggested that the various societies send to the secretary of the American Historical Association, to be by him at once transmitted to the other historical societies, a list of such papers as are proposed to be printed by the society during the ensuing year. As an illustration of how this will work, take the subject of the Haldimand papers, many of which have been printed in Michigan and Wisconsin. If any society proposes during the next year to print any more of these papers and a list is sent to every other society the publication of the same papers by any other society could be readily prevented.

Another good that might be derived from this notification can be readily seen in the following illustration: There is now in preparation for publication in the thirty-fourth volume of the Michigan Society the "Orderly Books of Gen. Anthony Wayne," comprising not only the books left by General Wayne, but the continuation of the same by his successor, General Wilkinson, and such other heretofore unpublished documents as can be obtained covering the period from 1792 to 1797. It is quite desirable that this publication should include everything that can be found on the subject of Indian warfare after the appointment of Wayne, at least until the time of his death in 1796. Many of the societies have letters, documents, diaries or journals, and

papers of various kinds that throw light on this interesting and historical period. When the knowledge of this intended publication has been transmitted to the various societies, they will doubtless examine their archives and notify the Michigan Society of such papers as they have and are willing to send for publication. This is a coöperation that could be put into immediate practice.

A further suggestion for coöperation is the making of an index of historical writings prepared somewhat on the plan of Poole's index. The preparation of such work would be stupendous without doubt, but when once completed it would be invaluable. It would be of use to students, investigators, and historical societies. Such a work should not only include the historical societies' publications, but the magazines and pamphlets. The work of compiling it might be coöperative. Each society could contribute the index to its own publications and the public and private libraries could add the list of pamphlets. Poole's index could be utilized for the magazine articles. A year's work would produce a very good beginning, and a foundation thus laid could be built upon by a new edition each year until the work was practically completed. Who could compute the value and usefulness of such a work.

Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the State Historical Society of Iowa, followed with these remarks upon the possibilities of mutual coöperation between state and local historical societies:

At this conference of historical societies I desire to speak briefly to the point of (1) the propagation of interest, (2) the collection of material, and (3) the publication of data as within the possibilities of mutual coöperation between historical societies, state and local. And to be more specific I will add that my remarks, suggested by conditions in States such as Iowa, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, contemplate phases of possible coöperation between the state historical society on the one hand and the various local historical societies and associations on the other.

First. By the propagation of interest I mean the stimulation and diffusion throughout the Commonwealth of a general interest in and an enthusiasm for state and local history. With students and men of science the interest will be chiefly academic, and will be expressed in scientific research, critical investigation, and scholarly publications, while among the masses of the people enthusiasm will take the form largely of a commendable pride in things local and provincial. The state historical society, with its larger library and collections, its broader scope, its publications, and its touch with American and world history will attract, stimulate, and encourage the scholar. On

the other hand, the local society of the town or county, with its more popular membership, can do most to arouse that local patriotism and foster that spirit of local provincialism which, when widely diffused throughout the community, means for the state society that popular moral support which leads to rich gifts and large appropriations. Thus the state and local societies, being mutually supplementary, may through affiliation and coöperation become most effective in spreading the gospel of historical interest.

Second. The possibilities of coöperation in the collection of historical material for permanent preservation are evident. For, while the state society will aim to make its library the largest and most complete within the Commonwealth in state and local history, (including at the same time materials of national and world history as well as much that is classed as politics, economics, sociology, and jurisprudence,) few local societies will go beyond the collection of materials of local and state history. Local societies aim, first of all, to collect and preserve the materials of local history, and while doing this they may effectively assist the state society in securing matter along the same lines. At the same time the members of local societies may coöperate effectively with the collector of the state society in securing manuscripts, books, pamphlets, etc., which are of more general interest. In Iowa, where the State Historical Society has placed a collector in the field, this phase of coöperation now appears to be most promising. On the other hand, the state society will often find it possible to turn over duplicate material to the libraries and collections of local societies.

Third. The publication of data of state and local history is one of the most important offices of the historical society. And I believe that as time goes on this function will become more and more pronounced, notwithstanding some contemporary evidence of the tendency to yield to the solicitations of publishers who make books valuable by limiting the editions. I do not believe that the historical society has fulfilled its highest mission when it has collected a large library of books and manuscripts and housed them securely in a marble palace. For after the materials have been collected their contents should as far as possible be made accessible through publications. Are there manuscripts of great value? Let them be carefully edited and published by the state society. Has some student done a scholarly and critical piece of work? Let it be published in the quarterly of the state society or as a separate monograph. Finally, the state society should furnish all of its publications at a nominal price or in exchange to all of the local societies and public libraries in the Commonwealth. On the other hand, the local societies may coöperate in this field by publishing their proceedings, which will contain reminiscences, recollections, and reflections of old settlers and pioneers, as well as notes and in-

formation of a purely local bearing. These proceedings should be freely exchanged with other local societies and with the state organization.

But the important question is, How may coöperation in the three-fold direction herein indicated be made possible and practicable? The answer is, Through the affiliation of the local historical societies with the state historical society. This affiliation may take the form of auxiliary membership, as in Iowa, where the provisions for such membership are as follows:

"Local historical societies (such as county historical societies, city or town historical societies, and old settlers' associations) may be enrolled as auxiliary members of the State Historical Society of Iowa upon application of such local historical societies and upon the approval of their applications by the board of curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

"Auxiliary societies shall be entitled to membership in the State Historical Society of Iowa and shall have one vote at the annual meeting of this society. Each auxiliary society shall be entitled to receive all the publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa issued during the period of its affiliation as an auxiliary member."

Franklin L. Riley, of the Mississippi Historical Society, thus described the condition of affairs in that State:

Although the writer worked out the details of the existing historical organizations in Mississippi and drafted the legislative bills which put them into active operation, he finds it rather difficult to say where all of their features came from. He spent much time studying the organization in Wisconsin, where the State Historical Society has control of all the necessary machinery for carrying on the work in the State, and in Alabama, where the historical society lost its appropriation in the establishment of the State Department of Archives and History. The constitution and workings of several other historical organizations were also studied in this connection.

The primary object he had in view was the establishment of two permanent, coördinate agencies with clearly defined spheres of activity, which would perform all of the necessary local historical work in the State. There seemed to be a place for an agency controlled and permeated by university influences, also for an agency which would be in more constant contact with the citizens of the State of all ranks and occupations. He therefore planned for the reorganization and perpetuation of the historical society and for the establishment of a new State Department of Archives and History.

The newly planned department was expected to undertake work in fields which it was very difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, for the society to develop satisfactorily. There are comparatively few his-

torical societies that accomplish great results as collecting agencies. There are also a very few state departments that are able and willing to foster and direct the various important lines of research which are necessary to the publication of valuable contributions to history.

The latter field seems to be the special province of the university, with its corps of graduate students and its large number of alumni, as well as its various other literary affiliations, which reach to every part of the State. These circumstances afford to persons who are well trained opportunities as well as incentives to contribute their part toward the development of historical work in the different States. Three fourths of the contributors to the publications of the Mississippi Historical Society are alumni of the State University. In the near future the proportion of contributions from this source will doubtless become even greater.

The idea of publishing at the University of Mississippi the finished products of historical investigation was derived from the Johns Hopkins University, and the utilization of the State Historical Society was at first only a means to this end. The society developed rapidly, however, and within a year the historical work under the direction of the secretary and treasurer of that organization embraced so many different kinds of activity that the office became very burdensome. Then followed a process of differentiation, which culminated in the creation of the Department of Archives and History, the model for which was furnished by the then newly created Department of Archives and History in Alabama.

In the opinion of the writer the organization for historical work in Mississippi is unique, and contains at least one idea which is original. It is that of two coördinated, state-supported agencies, one with headquarters at the State University, the other with headquarters at the State Capital, and both of them working successfully and harmoniously in their respective fields. These agencies bring to bear upon the historical work of the State two of the influences—academic and political—which are the most powerful and progressive in any Commonwealth.

The Mississippi Historical Society has issued annual volumes of Publications since its reorganization. Its energies are primarily directed to the publishing of finished products of historical research. Seven volumes of Publications have been issued, the eighth being now in the press, each of which has been more valuable than the preceding one. The volumes which have been published are well bound in cloth and contain 154 contributions, aggregating 2,742 pages. Volume VIII will contain 28 contributions, which will make a book of about 550 pages.

A general classification of the contributions that have been published by the Mississippi Historical Society, with the number of con-

tributions under each subject, is here given in order to indicate the nature and scope of the investigations which have been successfully conducted under the direction of this state agency. The result of this effort at classification is not entirely satisfactory, as some of the most valuable contributions may be placed under more than one head. In only exceptional cases, however, has the writer yielded to the temptation to count contributions under more than one head. This classification is as follows:

	<i>Contributions.</i>
Bibliography	16
Historical reports	8
Literary history	11
Constitutional and political history	27
Economic history	8
Social history	6
Educational history	4
Ecclesiastical history	10
Military history	17
History of scientific investigations and industries	3
County and municipal history	12
Biography	15
Pioneer reminiscences	3
Archæology	7
Indians	13
Exploration and early settlement	5
Historical geography	8
Original documents	4
Mississippi River	4
Miscellaneous	8

It is not deemed necessary to give in this connection a detailed statement of the different fields of labor which have been allotted to the Historical Society and to the State Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, as this information will be found in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903, volume I, pages 475-478.

The several addresses were attentively listened to, and elicited numerous questions, showing a hearty interest on the part of all present. In summing up the result of this first conference of historical societies and departments, the chairman said it was quite evident that among the earliest needs was the publication of calendars of each other's manuscript collections, on some well-accepted plan; there were also needed published lists of other historical material which was available to scholars, in the several society and departmental collections, such as maps, portraits, engravings, and illustrative material generally.

Sectional or neighborhood coöperation was also highly desirable. The Louisiana Purchase States, those in the Old Northwest, Kentucky and Tennessee, the Middle West, the Mississippi Valley, the Gulf States, the Pacific Coast, the Canadian Northwest, etc., were all of them sections whose societies or departments might profitably get together now and then to discuss historical needs—the sources of documents, the parceling out of possible publications, the discovery of gaps which need to be filled; together with questions of administration, public and private support, museums, lectures, etc.

National coöperation, he thought, was also quite feasible. Methods and ideals might be improved by annual conferences like the present. There might well be a national committee, or possibly a commission charged with this object like the Historical Manuscripts and Public Archives Commissions, seeking to effect a general improvement—not rejecting genealogy, as has sometimes been urged, but seeking to draw a line between that and real historical work, and cordially coöperating, wherever need be, with the genealogical societies. Then, again, we shall find the Library of Congress and the Carnegie Institution eager for our coöperation; indeed, they are already soliciting our suggestions as to work desirable for them to undertake both at home and abroad.

On motion of Mr. Owen, the council of the American Historical Association was unanimously requested to provide for further conferences of state and local historical societies, the chairman and secretary thereof to be appointed by the council, and such officers to provide a programme for at least two meetings at the next session of the national association. Later in the day the council voted that a similar round table of state and local historical societies and departments be held as one of the features of the annual meeting in Baltimore next winter.

Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, was appointed chairman of the conference, and Prof. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of the University of Iowa, secretary.

The following delegates were accredited to the conference, and nearly all were present:

Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery — Dr. Thomas M. Owen, director.

Buffalo (N. Y.) Historical Society — Frank H. Severance, secretary.

Carnegie Institution of Washington, Bureau of Historical Research — Prof. A. C. McLaughlin and Waldo G. Leland.

Chicago Historical Society — Dr. J. W. Fertig, secretary; Dr. A. L. Schmidt. S. H. Kerfoot, jr., and Miss Caroline McIlvane, librarian.

Evanston (Ill.) Historical Society — J. Seymour Currey, secretary, and Frank B. Glover, vice president.

German-American Historical Society, Philadelphia — Emil Mannhardt, Chicago.

Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield — Dr. J. F. Snyder, president; J. F. Steward, Paul Selby, A.M., and Prof. Edwin E. Sparks.

Iowa Historical Department, Des Moines — Hon. Charles Aldrich, curator, and Miss Mary R. Whitcomb, assistant curator.

Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City — Prof. B. F. Shambaugh, Dr. Frank E. Horrack, secretary, and T. J. Fitzpatrick, collector.

Kansas Historical Society, Topeka — Col. Geo. W. Martin, secretary.

Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans — William Beer, Prof. Alcée Fortier, president, and Dr. James S. Zacharie, first vice president.

McLean County (Ill.) Historical Society, Bloomington — George P. Davis, president; Ezra M. Prince, secretary, and John H. Burnham, chairman of executive committee.

Manitoba Historical Society, Winnipeg — Rev. Dr. George Bryce.

Maumee Valley (Ohio) Pioneer and Historical Society, Defiance — Dr. Charles E. Slocum.

Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Lansing — Clarence M. Burton, president, Detroit, and Hon. Peter White, Marquette.

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul — Prof. Warren Upham, secretary.

Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson — Hon. Dunbar Rowland, director.

Mississippi Historical Society, University — Dr. Franklin L. Riley, secretary.

Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis — Judge William B. Douglas, president.

Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia — F. A. Sampson, secretary; Dr. Isador Loeb, and Dr. Jonas Viles.

Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln — Prof. H. W. Caldwell.

New York University — Marshall S. Brown.

Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend — George A. Baker, secretary, and Otto M. Knoblock.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati — Joseph Wilby, president, and Prof. Merriek Whitecomb, curator.

Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus — E. O. Randall, secretary.

"Old Northwest" Genealogical Society, Columbus, Ohio — Capt. N. W. Evans, Portsmouth.

Peoria (Ill.) Historical Society — Prof. Charles T. Wycoff.

Richland County (Ohio) Historical Society, Columbus — Hon. E. O. Randall, Columbus, and A. G. Baughman, secretary, Mansfield.

Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville — Dr. Frederick W. Moore and Dr. R. A. Halley.

Texas State Historical Association, Austin — Prof. George P. Garrison.

U. S. Daughters of 1812, Illinois Branch, Chicago — Mrs. Robert Hall Wiles, president.

Wayne County (Ind.) Historical Society, Richmond — Prof. Cyrus W. Hodgkin.

Western Illinois State Normal School, Macomb — Prof. James C. Burns.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio — Wallace H. Cathcart, secretary, and William H. Miner.

Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison — Hon. William W. Wight, president; Dr. R. G. Thwaites, secretary; Hon. Henry E. Legler, and Dr. Frederick J. Turner.

Wyoming (Pa.) Historical and Geological Society — Thomas Lynch, Montgomery, State Librarian.

REVIEWS.

A Short History of Oregon. By SIDONIA V. JOHNSON. Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Co. 1904. 329 pp.

A History of the Pacific Northwest. By JOSEPH SCHAFER. New York, The Macmillan Co. 1905. xvi, 321 pp.

The interest in the Pacific Northwest aroused by the recent Lewis and Clark Exposition attaches to the history of the region as well as its resources and scenery. This renders timely the appearance of several new books upon Oregon and the Northwest which should properly receive attention in a historical quarterly published by a historical society which desires to encourage the study of the history of a section which has much of interest and importance to offer to the student and reader. These new books deserve mention also because there has been nothing satisfactory in brief enough form to be of utility to the general reader or in literary style suitable for the young reader.

A Short History of Oregon by Miss Sidonia V. Johnson of Portland was published by A. C. McClurg of Chicago in 1904. This firm has already become known for its interest in books connected with the Northwest. This book is a neat volume, of size suitable for the general reader. The text is accompanied by attractive illustrations. The author professes to have written only a compilation and résumé of the subject-matter contained in other books of larger scope. It is her purpose to make what has already been written more accessible to the general reader. This is a worthy purpose and the book will prove a useful one in that it accomplishes its purpose. It must be remembered, however, that a compilation is of less value than a book written directly from the sources, and that it is a difficult matter to preserve a thoroughly logical arrangement of material and subordination of detail. The book necessarily suffers somewhat from the fact that it is a compilation. The story, however, is well told, the essential incidents are included. The reader feels that the author, though not a trained historical writer, is enthusiastically interested in the subject. It is a book that may be read with profit and will awaken an interest in the history of the Northwest.

A History of the Pacific Northwest by Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon has been published by the Macmillan Co. This is the first book connected with this region published by that

firm, so far as the reviewer knows, and it is to be hoped that it may lead to other publications. The book aims, according to the author, to "narrate in simple, readable style" the impressive story of civilization-building in the region once called Oregon, but now known as the Pacific Northwest. This book is not a compilation, but a new writing and arrangement of the materials of history. In following the title of the Pacific Northwest the scope is somewhat broader than the history of a commonwealth. The reader gains much from this broader scope, although he may miss some of the detail which he would expect in a history of a State. The development of the eastern empire and of the Puget Sound country thus receives a place in the narrative as well as the Willamette Valley. The breadth of treatment and the selection of material has been well sustained and the book should appeal not only to the student of local history, but to the student of American history in general. The beginnings in the Northwest are surely as interesting and as important in the story of American history as the beginnings in New England or Virginia. A reading of this book will surely lead the reader to feel this.

The book has been written from the sources and reflects the influence of new sources that have come to light through the work of the Oregon Historical Society, and it well illustrates the value of that organization to the cause of history. It is without doubt the work of one trained in the methods of history study and writing. The material is judiciously selected, the arrangement is thoughtfully and logically made, the historical perspective is preserved, the details are properly subordinated to the general divisions of the narrative. The book gains in dignity and in usefulness by confining itself to a narrative and not being argumentative. It is peculiarly free from many of the prejudices that have characterized so many other books. It is a well balanced narrative of the subject. In treating of disputed points the author says only so much as the sources warrant and does not draw unwarranted inferences.

The language of the book is exceedingly plain and interesting, and it will prove of utility to the young reader because of that fact. It is preëminently a book for the young, but will also be appreciated by the older readers. In the judgment of the reviewer, and in light of his own habits of mind and study of the field, this book is the best narrative in brief form yet made of the Pacific Northwest.

JAMES R. ROBERTSON.

ACCESSIONS.

For quarter ending September 30, 1905.

PAMPHLETS.

Native Shrubs and Plants Along the Trail and in Macleay Park, Portland. 8vo, 8 pp. March, 1905.

Historic Buildings of New England, Halliday's Catalogue of Photographs of. 16mo, 50 pp. Illustrated. Boston, 1895.

Bunker Hill Monument, Guide to Views from. 32mo, 16 pp. Charles-town, Mass, 1900.

Mineral Resources and Mineral Industries of Oregon for 1903. Compiled by Department of Chemistry, University of Oregon. 8vo, 120 pp. Eugene, May, 1904.

Bloomington, Ill., Semi-Centennial of the Founding of, May 10, 1900. 8vo, 8 pp. Illustrated.

Birth of Oregon, The. Poem by Charles Grissen, McMinnville, in honor of the Lewis and Clark Centennial. 8vo, 16 pp. Copiously illustrated. Presented by the author.

Rare Books in Library of Pacific University, Catalogue of, exhibited at the Lewis and Clark Exposition. Prepared by Miss Mary Frances Farnham, Professor of English Literature. 8vo, 24 pp. Illustrated.

Lewis and Clark's Journals, Story of. By Reuben Gold Thwaites, Secretary of Wisconsin Historical Society. 8vo, 26 pp. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office.

Bostonian Society, Annual Meeting of, January 14, 1902. View of part of Boston with British troops landing, 1768. 8vo, 68 pp. Boston, 1902.

— Annual Meeting, January 13, 1903. Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770. 8vo, 80 pp. Boston, 1903.

— Annual Meeting of, January 12, 1904. Map of Boston Harbor, 1689. 8vo, 88 pp. Boston, 1904.

— Annual Meeting, January 10, 1905. State Street, Boston, about 1842. 8vo, 96 pp. Boston, 1905.

Year Books of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1901-1904. 8vo, 100 pp. Illustrated. Richmond, Va., 1905.

Valentine Museum, The, Richmond, Va., Annual Report of, December 31, 1904. 8vo, 16 pp.

Maine Genealogical Society, Reports of Annual Meetings of, 1903 and 1904. 8vo, 78 pp. Illustrated. Portland, Me., 1905.

Idaho, State of, 1905. Official Publication containing reliable information concerning the Institutions, Industries, and Resources of the State. 8vo, 284 pp. Copiously illustrated. Boise, Idaho.

Yaquina Bay—Descriptive Booklet. 12mo, 20 pp. Illustrated.

Portland, 1905. What to See and How to See It. 12mo, 128 pp. Illustrated. Contains important historical, descriptive, and commercial data. Issued by Portland Chamber of Commerce, 1905.

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1904. 27th number. 8vo, 666 pp. Washington, D. C., 1905.

Chronological List of Missouri and Illinois Newspapers, 1808-1897, in the St. Louis Mercantile Library. 12mo, 22 pp.

University of the Pacific, San José, Cal., Golden Jubilee of. San José, 1901. 8vo, 16 pp. Illustrated.

Annual Report of Chamber of Commerce, Pensacola, Fla., 1903. 16mo, 32 pp.

Register Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, 1901-1902.

— 1903-1904.

— 1904-1905.

Souvenir of Western Women, The. Edited by Mary Osborn Douthit. Portland, Oregon, 1905. Royal 8vo, 200 pp. Illustrated.

Evolution, Racial and Habitual. By Rev. John T. Gulick. Published by the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., 1905. Royal 8vo. Maps, beautifully colored plates. (Mr. Gulick lived one year in Oregon City, 1848-49, and afterwards resided in the Sandwich Islands many years.)

Descriptive literature issued by the following counties for general distribution during the Lewis and Clark Exposition:

Baker.	Douglas.	Linn.	Tillamook.
Benton.	Harney.	Malheur.	Umatilla.
Clackamas.	Jackson.	Marion.	Wallowa.
Columbia.	Josephine.	Morrow.	Wasco.
Coos.	Lane.	Polk.	Washington.
Crook.	Lincoln.	Sherman.	Yamhill.

Crossing Plains in 1846. A rhyme by William Phillips, a pioneer of that year. 16mo, 32 pp.

Oregon Medical and Surgical Reporter, Vol. 2, No. 2, July, 1871. "Issued quarterly at \$3.00 a year, legal tender." Salem, Oregon, Frank A. Cook, publisher; E. M. Waite, printer; E. R. Fiske, M. D., H. Carpenter, M. D., E. Y. Chase, M. D., editors. 8vo, 114 pp.

First Congregational Church, Portland, Oregon, directory of, 1904. 16mo, 30 pp.

Washington, State of, 1903. Issued by Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture, and Immigration, Olympia, 1903. 8vo, 256 pp. Illustrated. Map.

Origin of Freemasonry. By O. A. Dearing. 8vo, 24 pp. Illustrated. Corvallis, Oregon, 1904.

West Shore, An illustrated western magazine. February, 1887. 8vo. Illustrated.

— April, 1887. Illustrated. (Mutilated.)

— May, 1887. Illustrated.

— June, 1887. Illustrated. (3 copies.)

— August, 1887. Illustrated.

— February, 1888. 4to. Illustrated. (2 copies.)

— January, 1889. 4to, 64 pp. Contains article on "Genealogy of Oregon;" also numerous illustrations relating to Salem.

Memoir of the life and works of Dr. Antoine François Saugrain, the first scientist of the Mississippi Valley. By William Vincent Byars, 1903. Benj. Von Phul, St. Louis, publisher, grandson of Dr. Saugrain. 8vo, 18 pp. Illustrated. Contains autograph of publisher and reduced facsimile of passport of Dr. Saugrain, 1790.

Western Trail, The. Vol. 1, No. 2, December, 1899, Seattle, Wash. Large 8vo, 74 pp. and cover. Illustrated.

State, The. Vol. 5, No. 6, 1890. Contains address by Allen Weir before Washington Pioneer Society.

"Louisiana Purchase," by Col. James O. Broadhead. Missouri Historical Society Bulletin, No. 13. Published by the society, 1897. 8vo, 44 pp.

Twin Territories, The Indian Monthly. Vol. 6, No. 4, Muskogee, Ind. Ter., May, 1904. 8vo, 64 pp.

Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa. Reunion of 1902, held at Des Moines, February 12-13, 1902. Eighth biennial session. Published by State of Iowa, 1902. 8vo, 132 pp. Illustrated.

British Columbia, Annual Report on the Library of the Legislative Assembly, 1900-1901. 8vo, 20 pp. Map of southwestern part of British Columbia, 1905.

— Report of the Delegates to Ottawa, 1903. 8vo, 60 pp.

Ilakawinn, The. (Eagle of the Night.) Published by Pendleton High School, March, 1903. Vol. 1, No. 4. 8vo, 32 pp. Illustrated.

— Vol. 2, No. 1, October, 1903.

Columbia River Basin Journal, The. Issued by Portland Board of Trade, July and August, 1902. 8vo, 46 pp. Illustrated. (Duplicate.)

Kansas Historical Society. Fourteenth biennial report, July 1, 1902, June 30, 1904. 8vo, 148 pp.

Club Journal, The. January, February, June, November, 1903.

Dakotan, The. A Monthly Magazine devoted to Dakota History. Published at Aberdeen, South Dakota. Vol. 5, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, January, February, March, April, 1903; Vol. 6, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10-11, June, August, September, October, November, December, 1903—

Nos. 9, 10-11, 12, January, February-March, April, 1904; Vol. 7, Nos. 1, 2-3, 4, 5, May, June-July, August, September, 1904.

Hume Family. History of, and Genealogical Chart. 8vo, 200 pp. Illustrated.

Great Northern Railway. Last year of the Switch-Back on, 1900. 8vo, 20 pp. Illustrated.

Oregon, The Resources of. Issued by State Board of Agriculture, 1898. 8vo, 204 pp. Illustrated.

Chadbourne Genealogy. Fall River, Mass., April, 1904. 8vo, 64 pp. Illustrated.

Montana State College of Agriculture and Mechanics Arts, Bozeman. Sixth Annual Catalogue, 1897-1898. 8vo, 112 pp. Illustrated.

— Ninth Annual Catalogue, 1902-1903.

Montana, University of. Annual Report of the President of, 1901-1902.

Wisconsin, State Historical Society of. Bulletin of Information, No. 15, 1901. 32 pp.

Emporia, Kansas. History of the College of, with biographical sketch of the founder, Rev. John Byars Anderson. Address by Geo. W. Martin, Secretary Kansas Historical Society, June 4, 1902. 8vo, 24 pp.

American Historical Association to the Nova Scotia Historical Society. Address of Congratulation by Reuben Gold Thwaites at the Tercentenary at Annapolis Royal, June 21-22, 1904. 8vo, 8 pp. Illustrated.

Seattle. History of the City. By Thomas W. Prosch, Secretary Chamber of Commerce. 1900.

— Souvenir of, 1899. 8vo, 24 pp. Illustrated.

Almanacs, Ayers, 1854, 1855, 1874.

— Graefenbergs, 1856.

— Jaynes, 1857, 1859.

— Sands, 1858.

— California Illustrated, 1859.

— Bristol's, 1866.

— Centaur. 1875.

— Radway's, 1876.

— North Pacific, and Statistical Handbook for, 1890. 8vo, 224 pp.

Henry's Valuable Information, 1876. 12mo, 48 pp.

Hermann, Hon. Binger. Speech of, in Congress, March 4, 1904, in favor of appropriation for Lewis and Clark Centennial Celebration.

Synod of Oregon — Minutes of, Grants Pass, October 14-18, 1897. 8vo.

— Albany, October 13-16, 1898.

— Salem, October 12-15, 1899.

— Portland, October 11-14, 1900.

— Baker City, October 10-13, 1901. (2 copies).

— Grants Pass, October 9-12, 1902.

State Water Powers, Report of Legislative Committee on, February 16, 1905, with address of W. M. Killingsworth, Portland, before Development Convention, Salem, March 23, 1905. 8vo, 12 pp.

Journal of House of Representatives and Council of the First Legislative Assembly of Oregon Territory, Oregon City, beginning July 16, 1849, and ending September 29, 1849. 8vo, 208 pp. Printed at Salem, 1854, by Asahel Bush.

Portland Public Schools. Thirty-Second Annual Report. 1904-1905. 8vo, 120 pp.

Smith, Isaac Williams, C. E. An Oregon Pioneer of 1853-54, and Chief Engineer of the Portland Water System from 1886 to January 1, 1897, the date of his death. Memoir of, by D. D. Clarke, Portland. 8vo, 8 pp.

Tongue, Thomas H. Memorial addresses on, in U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1903. 8vo, 16 pp.

Members of House of Representatives, United States, 57th Congress, February 23, 1901. 8vo, 10 pp.

Clay, James B. (son of Henry Clay), speech of, on Admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, in U. S. House of Representatives, March 30, 1858. 8vo, 16 pp.

Quitman, John A., Speech of, on the powers of the Federal Government with regard to the Territories, in U. S. House of Representatives, December 18, 1856. 8vo, 16 pp.

Indians, Expeditions against the. Message of Governor Geo. L. Curry, correspondence, etc., relating to, December 17, 1855. 8vo, 68 pp.

State Capitol. Proceedings of Masonic Grand Lodge, in laying corner-stone, Salem, October 8, 1873, containing historical address of S. F. Chadwick. 8vo, 48 pp. (2 copies.)

Sons of Temperance, constitution and by-laws of Indiana Division No. 1, Brookville, Ind., 1846. Brought to Oregon in 1847 by R. V. Short. 16mo, 16 pp. (Preceding five pamphlets donated by Mr. Short.)

Politics, Handbook of, for 1868. By Edward McPherson, Clerk of U. S. House of Representatives. 8vo, 388 pp.

DOCUMENTS.

Pilot's certificate issued to John Stump, to run on steamer from mouth of Sacramento River to Marysville, Cal., dated San Francisco, Cal., December 11, 1863. Presented by Mrs. L. S. Taylor, Portland, Oregon.

Statement of Governor Joseph Lane relating to the good character of "Red Wolf," a Nez Perces Indian chief, dated November 8, 1849.

General Order No. 27, Headquarters Adjutant General's office, Portland, February 5, 1856.

Statement of Nathan Olney, Indian Agent, relating to the good character of "Red Wolf," Nez Perces Indian chief, dated Dalles, O. T., February 15, 1856.

Special Order No. —, from Headquarters Adjutant General's office, Dalles, O. T., February 19, 1856.

Statement of Col. Thomas R. Cornelius, relating to "Red Wolf," Indian chief, dated February 28, 1856.

Statement of R. R. Thompson, Indian Agent, relating to the good character of "Red Wolf," dated Dalles, April 3, 1856.

Statement by Mayor G. O. Haller, relating to the good character of "Red Wolf," dated Fort Dalles, April 4, 1856.

Statement by Lieut. M. Atkinson, U. S. A., relating to the character of "Red Wolf," dated Fort Henrietta, April 8, 1856. (The town of Echo, Umatilla County, Oregon, now stands where Fort Henrietta was located.)

Statement of Christopher Gilson relating to the good character of "Shelihee," a Nez Perces Indian, dated Bismarck, N. D., November 22, 1877.

BOOKS.

Oregon and California and Other Territories on the North-West Coast of North America, The History of. By Robert Grenhow. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1844. Best edition of this valuable early history of Oregon. Presented to the society by D. V. Kuykendall.

Mechanic's Repository. Embracing a wide range of subjects common to daily life. By James Pilkington, Philadelphia, 1841. 12 mo, Sheep, 376 pp. Supplement, 116 pp. Illustrated. Brought to Oregon from Connecticut in 1853 by D. L. Riggs.

Champoeg and Other Poems. By Elias Eugene Eberhard. 12 mo, 216 pp. Chicago, 1904. Cloth.

Blue Book, 1903, The Portland. 16mo, 206 pp. Leather.

Spelling Book, Abridged edition of Webster's Elementary. Printed and published by the Oregon Printing Association, Oregon City, 1847. Binding by C. W. Shane. 12mo, 94 pp. Pages 7 and 8 missing.

[NOTE.—This was the first book printed in the "Oregon Country," so far as known, aside from the small pamphlets issued by the *Mission Press*, Lapwai, 1839-1845. The writer learned of its publication twenty-five years ago, and began the effort at once to secure it, but did not succeed until September of this year, when this copy was donated to the Society by Cyrus H. Walker, Albany, Oregon. The book was originally the property of Emeline Stewart, who was a student at Forest Grove in early days, and evidently gave it to Abigail B. Walker, now Mrs. Karr, Hoquiam, Wash., a sister of Mr. Walker.—*George H. Himes.*]

Philippines, The Story of the. By Murat Halstead. 8vo, 496 pp. Cloth. Illustrated. Donated by Cyrus H. Walker, Albany, Oregon.

British Columbia, Year-Book of, 1903. By R. E. Gosnell, Secretary Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria, B. C. 1903. 8vo, 394 pp. Illustrated.

Missouri, State of. An Autobiography edited for the Missouri Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition by Walter Williams. 8vo, 608 pp. Cloth. Presented by the Missouri Commission to the Lewis and Clark Exposition. 8vo, 608 pp. Cloth. Illustrated.

First Maine Cavalry. History of. By Edward P. Tobie, Boston, 1887. 8vo. Half morocco, 732 pp. Illustrated. (Presented by Gen. Jonathan P. Cilley, Rockland, Maine.)

Washington Territory, Reminiscences of. By Charles Prosch. Scenes, Incidents, and Reflections of the Pioneer Period on Puget Sound. Seattle, 1904. 8vo, 128 pp. Illustrated.

De Riemer Family, The. A. D. 1640(?)–1903. By Rev. W. E. De Riemer. Reprint from New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, with numerous additions. New York, 1905. One hundred copies issued. Royal 8vo, Cloth, 48 pp. Portrait of author.

Pope, Gen. John. Report of Virginia Campaign. January 27, 1863. 8vo, Cloth, 256 pp., with map.

Valley of the Amazon, Exploration of, under Lieuts. W. L. Herndon and Lardner Gibson, by direction of the Navy Department. Executive Doc., 33d Congress, 1st session. 8vo, 418 pp. Cloth. Illustrated.

Early Oregon—1850 to 1860. By George E. Cole. With portrait and autograph of author, 12mo, Cloth, 96 pp.

Canoe and Saddle, The. Adventures Among the Northwestern Rivers and Forests; and Isthmiana. By Theodore Winthrop. Boston, 1863. Cloth. 12mo, 376 pages. This work is a description of a journey to the Pacific Northwest in 1853, and makes use of the word "Tacoma" for the first time, applying the term to the mountain generally known as "Rainier." Presented to the society by Stewart Culin, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Northern Pacific Railroad, History of. By Eugene V. Smalley. New York, 1883. 8vo, Cloth, 438 pp. Illustrated. Map. Presented by Olin D. Wheeler, St. Paul, Minn.

America and Her Commentators. With a Critical Sketch of Travel in the United States. By Henry T. Tuckerman. New York, 1864. 8mo, Cloth, 460 pp. Donated by George H. Himes.

Oregon in the Philippines. The Official Record of the Oregon Volunteers in the Spanish War and Philippine Insurrection. Compiled by Brigadier General C. U. Gantenbein, late Adjutant General, State of Oregon, and late Major Second Oregon U. S. Infantry. Second edition, printed under direction of Brigadier General W. E. Finzer, Adjutant General, State of Oregon. Salem, 1903. 8vo, 648 pp. Illus-

trated. From Albert S. Foster, of Light Battery "A," Oregon Volunteer Artillery.

Stories of Old Oregon. By George A. Waggoner. Salem, 1905. 12mo, 294 pp. Cloth. Illustrated. Presented by the author.

Code of Oregon. Prepared by Matthew P. Deady, Addison C. Gibbs, James K. Kelly, Code Commissioners. Salem, 1863. 8vo, 286 pp. Also General Laws of Oregon passed at the legislative session of 1862. 127 pp. and indices to Code and General Laws. Was the property of Judge A. J. Thayer, and bears his autograph.

Military Laws of the United States from 1776 to 1858. Prepared by John F. Callan, Clerk to Military Committee, U. S. Senate. Baltimore, 1858. 8vo, 384 pp. Sheep. Contains autograph of E. M. Barnum, Adjutant General of Oregon Territory in 1854.

Seventy Years on the Frontier. Memoirs of Alexander Majors of a Lifetime on Border. Chicago, 1893. 8vo, Cloth, 326 pp. Illustrated. Contains an account of the establishment of the Pony Express and first overland mail to the Pacific Coast. Donated by George H. Himes.

Deposition of Simon G. Elliott in suit of Ben Holladay and C. Temple Emmitt, plaintiffs, *v.* Simon G. Elliott, *et al.*, defendants, relating to the construction of the Oregon & California Railroad. Portland, 1871. 8vo, 518 pp. Half roan. Presented by Mrs. W. F. Trimble, Portland. Contains autograph of her husband, a prominent Portland lawyer.

History of the Pacific Northwest. By Joseph Schafer, M. L., Head of the Department of History, University of Oregon. Maps and Illustrations. New York, 1905. 12mo, 322 pp. Cloth. Two preceding volumes presented by George H. Himes.

Wah-kee-nah and Her People. The Curious Customs, Traditions, and Legends of the North American Indians. By James C. Strong, a resident of the Pacific Northwest from 1850 to 1856. New York and London, 1893. 12mo, Cloth, 276 pp. Illustrated. Two preceding volumes presented by George H. Himes.

Yamhill, The. An Indian Romance. By J. C. Cooper, McMinnville, 1904. 16mo, 188 pp. Illustrated. Presented by author, with autograph.

RELICS.

Indian pipe (broken) made out of slate by Indians on Queen Charlotte's Island. Brought to Portland from that island in 1848 by William Collins, and in 1853 was given by him to Mrs. William Beck, who presented it to the society. This pipe is an elaborate piece of carving. It is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch thick.

Old-fashioned iron kettle, $18\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Very much worn. Said to be one hundred and twenty years old. Was the property of Mrs. Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Given by her to a cousin of her son Abraham, and that cousin gave it to her

daughter, a Mrs. Robinson, who lived in Mississippi in 1895, and she gave it to Mrs. Annie Lorenz. The latter brought it to Cove, Oregon, in 1895. Loaned by Mrs. Lorenz.

Powderhorn, brought across the plains to Oregon in 1852 from Danville, Ill., by David Roland.

Iron work of a coffee mill. Brought by David Roland to Oregon in 1852 from Danville, Ill. (The two last relics donated by Mrs. M. Worrick.)

Iron skillet. Owned a great many years by "Old John," supposed to be the last of the tribe of Multnomah Indians, who died in 1893; and was believed by all who knew him, to have been more than one hundred years old. He always claimed that this skillet was given him by white men long before Doctor McLoughlin's arrival in Vancouver, which was in 1824. Hence it is possible that he received it from Lewis and Clark's exploring expedition. Placed in custody of society by Mrs. C. A. Benson, Cleone, Oregon.

Hudson Bay Company's Bowl. Secured from an Indian at mouth of the Columbia River, near Fort Stevens, in 1900. Indian claimed that he had owned it more than fifty years, and that he got it from the wreck of a vessel. Donated by G. Tufty, Cathlamet, Wash.

Crowbar used by Peter H. Hatch about 1844 in building a road along the bluff between Oregon City and Canemah. Used by Mr. Hatch up to the close of his life in 1898.

Steelyards. Bought at the Allan, McKinley & Co. Store, Oregon City, in 1847 by "Doc" N. K. Sitton, a pioneer of 1843, and used by him more than fifty years on his farm near McMinnville, Yamhill County. Donated by Mr. Sitton.

Hudson Bay Company's plow. Very peculiarly shaped. It is a cast plow, nearly three feet long, and cuts a furrow eight inches wide. The words "Wedlake Patent" are moulded on parts of the plow. It was probably sent to Fort Vancouver from England, between 1830 and 1840. Secured in May, 1905, by Ezra Meeker, on the Cowlitz Farms, near Winlock, Wash.

Three brick tile, twelve inches square by two inches thick. Brought to Fort Vancouver by the Hudson Bay Company, and sold to Guy Hayden about 1850-1851, to be used by him in a new house he was then building. Placed in the custody of the society by Mrs. Hayden.

Cannon ball, 12-pound, brought in ballast from Manila to Portland late in 1898 in a vessel which came to load with lumber. The ballast was taken from the ruins of an old fortification which was destroyed by Admiral Dewey's guns.

Sheath knife, picked up on the Custer battlefield, Wyoming, in 1882. (Both articles loaned by R. Mills, Portland.)

Broadaxe. Brought from Missouri to Oregon in 1844 by Joseph Parrot, Sr. He caused it to be made in New York some time in the thirties, and used it for hewing timbers for the Erie Canal at Lockport. It was taken to Frankfort, Ky., in 1839, and used on the same kind of work. In 1841 it was removed to Missouri. In 1845 it was used for hewing the timbers for the Catholic Church, Oregon City. In 1849 it was used at Ft. George (Astoria), and in 1850 Mr. Parrot used it at Oregon City in getting out the timbers for Doctor McLoughlin's granary and the first courthouse in Clackamas County. Donated by Joseph Parrot, Jr., Glenwood, Washington.

Piece of whetstone schist from ballast brought into the Columbia River by Hudson Bay Company's vessels, and deposited on the Columbia River beach at the site of the first sawmill in the "Oregon Country," built by Dr. John McLoughlin in 1827-28, six miles above Vancouver. This contained black tourmalines and red garnets, and probably came from the coast of Japan or China.

Powderhorn made in Rowan County, North Carolina, in 1789, by William Henly. Brought to Oregon in 1870 by his grandson, R. S. Henley, by whom it was placed in the custody of the Historical Society.

Kentucky Rifle. Originally a flint-lock. Was bought of Benjamin Cornelius, Buchanan County, Mo., early in 1844, by Joshua McDaniel, and brought by the latter across the plains to Oregon that year. In 1848 it was carried in the Cayuse war by Mr. McDaniel, and in 1849 was taken by him to the gold mines in California. It was also used in the Rogue River Indian war in 1853. Mr. McDaniel was a skillful marksman and an intrepid hunter. While crossing the plains he killed seven buffalo, and in Oregon many bear, deer, and elk. It was changed to a percussion gun in 1850 by John Edes in Polk County. The pet name of this famous gun is "Betsey Baker."

Powderhorn and bullet pouch accompanying the gun. The former was found early in 1848 at the site of the Whitman Mission, six miles west of Walla Walla, Wash., where the famous massacre of November 29-30, 1847, was perpetrated; the latter was brought across the plains in 1844.

(The three foregoing articles placed in the keeping of the society by Joshua McDaniel, Rickreall, Oregon.)

Kentucky Rifle. Made in Perryville, Md., in 1835, by W. H. Brown for W. B. Partlow to kill prairie chickens with. Taken to Indiana in 1840, and brought from that State to Oregon in 1852 and used by Mr. Partlow as a hunting gun in Clackamas County for many years. Loaned by Mr. Partlow, Oregon City.

Brass Kettle. Bought at Smith's Ferry, Pa., in 1847. Brought across the plains to Oregon in 1853 by John and Mrs. Amanda Barnes, and used constantly up to 1903. Loaned by Mrs. Amanda Barnes-Dee.

Drum Sticks. Belonged to a drummer in the Confederate army in Mississippi. Picked up on the battlefield of Jackson, in that State, on July 7, 1863, by Captain R. A. Frame, Company B, Seventh Illinois Infantry, and brought by him to Oregon in 1883. Donated by Captain Frame, Portland.

Sword. Carried by Major John P. Gaines in the battle of Thames, October 5, 1813, when the noted war chief Tecumseh, was killed. Major Gaines was one of the Kentucky volunteers under command of General Isaac Shelby. Gaines carried this sword in the Mexican war, serving under General Zachary Taylor, and was appointed by President Taylor the second governor of Oregon Territory in October, 1849, and arrived at Oregon City August 18, 1850. Sword donated by a son, Abner P. Gaines, Portland.

Needle Book, or "Housewife," owned by George Shannon, a member of the Lewis and Clark exploring party, and used by him on their memorable journey to Oregon in 1804-6. Loaned by Mrs. J. P. Farmer, Portland, a granddaughter of George Shannon.

Writing roll, pens, inkstand, beeswax, pins, thread, buttons, and thimble, brought across the plains to Oregon in 1832 by John Ball, who taught the first school in American territory west of the Rocky Mountains, beginning in November, 1832, at Vancouver, and closing in February, 1833. He was also the first American to raise a crop of wheat in the region referred to—that was in the year 1833.

Piece of a cloak, which was spun and woven by Mrs. Sarah Nevins Ball, mother of John Ball, before the Revolutionary war.

Silk handkerchief. Carried by John Ball when he was a young man.

(The foregoing articles loaned by Mrs. Katie Ball Powers, a daughter of John Ball, Whittier, Cal.)

Hammer. Brought to Oregon by Frederick Thomas, who landed at the site of Portland, October 16, 1845. It was an old tool in 1798, and was used in drawing the edge of scythes in sharpening them, as there was less waste of steel by that method than by grinding. Donated by Williams N. Thomas, Gates, Oregon.

Cartridge of a Gatling gun, and two steel-covered bullets taken from the body of a Spanish captain at the battle of San Juan Hill, May 3, 1898, and a number of Spanish bullets picked up the same day. Deposited by Lieut. L. H. Mendall, U. S. A.

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THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

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PRICE: FIFTY CENTS PER NUMBER, TWO DOLLARS PER YEAR

Entered at the post office at Portland, Oregon, as second-class matter.

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THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME VI.]

DECEMBER, 1905.

[NUMBER 4

THE WINNING OF THE OREGON COUNTRY.*

On the 14th day of February, 1859, this Commonwealth was admitted into the Union of States, and to be at that time a companion sentinel upon the mountain tops of the Pacific with the State of California. These were the only States at that time west of the Missouri, and the intermediate region was an almost trackless wild. The act of Congress admitting Oregon into the great galaxy of States declared "That Oregon be and she is hereby received into the Union on an equal footing with the other States in all respects whatever." This formal recognition of her equality does not convey to the mind the full meaning perhaps intended. Our State was thus recognized as an equal of any of the original thirteen colonial States, and in an historic sense, she was then, and is now, their equal, if not superior, in the precious memories that cluster about the great Oregon Country, in diplomatic and international events.

The historian says that under the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, Spain claimed from the Carolinas to the Mississippi, and on the basis of discovery by De Soto and others, westward to the Pacific. She extended her sovereignty from

*Delivered as the annual address before the Yamhill County Pioneer Association at Dayton, Oregon, June 2, 1897.

Panama to Nootka Sound. In 1513 Balboa, her brave son, in the name of his country claimed the great Pacific. France, also, was not a mere idler in this conquest of new worlds. The French claimed up to the Louisiana boundary and to the St. Lawrence and farther towards the Arctic than any daring navigators or explorers had ventured at this early period. In one way or another the French encroached upon the Spanish soil, until the dividing line, somewhat vaguely defined, was recognized as beginning at the mouth of the Sabine River, thence up this stream to latitude thirty-two, thence north to Red River, and thence up this to longitude twenty-three, thence north to Arkansas and up it to latitude forty-two, and thence to the Pacific. Notice this last call, for it is the south boundary of our State—was always the boundary of what is called "The Oregon Country," and was at one time the northern boundary of Mexico. In the grant from France to Spain in 1762, and from Spain to France, in 1800, this untraced line was recognized. It is thus seen upon what grounds rest the claims made for Mr. Jefferson, that the Louisiana purchase of 1803 gave the United States title to the Oregon Country. Of so much importance was this section, even as early as 1819, that when the United States purchased Florida, an article was inserted in the treaty of purchase, restating this line. The Oregon of that day, as it existed in the minds of publicists, statesmen, and diplomats, embraced all the vast region between forty-two degrees north latitude and the famous "Fifty-four Forty" of the Polk campaign of 1844, meaning there by fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and also extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains. This vast region is now British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and part of Montana and Wyoming. While Spain and France were thus parceling out empires, and professing in turn and at times concur-

rently to hold exclusive right to this section of the new world, the busy and active brain of England was not idle. Her navigators, Cook, Meares, and Vancouver were flying her flag in the Pacific waters, and coasting upon these shores. Spain and England in 1789, the year that the Federal Constitution went into effect, and during the first year of the first term of George Washington, attempted to plant rival settlements at Nootka Sound, on the north Pacific coast, beyond Vancouver Island. The Spanish resorted to force, and captured the English ships, which hostile act invited two English fleets to witness the trial of arms. The younger Pitt was then premier of England, and diplomacy finally led to the Nootka treaty of 1790, concluded through the mediation of Mirabeau, the master spirit of France under Louis XVI. The historian records that five years later Spain withdrew from this section, abandoned her claim to everything north of forty-two degrees, then and now the south boundary of Oregon.

Russia also made claim to this coast, and at one time, by formal decree, announced her rights to the country as far south as forty-five degrees and fifty minutes. John Quincy Adams, then our Secretary of State, disputed this claim; Great Britain protested, and in 1823 President Monroe emphasized the American protests by proclaiming the famous Monroe doctrine, the substance of which was "That the American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power." In 1824 it was agreed between Russia and the United States, that this country should make no new claims north of fifty-four degrees and forty minutes, and that Russia should make none south of this famous line.

From this date the great contest for the Oregon Country of history was between England and the United States

alone. The Hudson Bay Company was the English agent and local defender of Great Britain's claims, and the pioneers of the early forties, participated in the struggle for possession of this great domain, in the name of their kindred and country. Charles II. had chartered this company in 1670, Prince Rupert being a charter member, from which fact the region was called "Rupert's Land," and the alleged object of the company was to discover a new passage into the "South Sea," the name by which the Pacific was first known. Under the inspiration of a rival movement Alexander Mackenzie came from Canada over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and reached its shores July 22, 1793, the last year of Washington's first term. He touched the coast at fifty-three degrees and twenty-one minutes, and was thus within the limits of what we claimed as our territory. The Hudson Bay Company was given great governmental power and its affairs were ably and prudently managed. It ruled an area of the world in these early days one third larger than modern Europe and larger than the United States. From Montreal, the seat of its power, after it absorbed the Northwest Company, to its farthest western port on Vancouver Island, was 2,500 miles, and on the north its boundaries were the limitless frozen waters. Its direct business was the fur trade on land and sea, but its indirect object was conquest for and in the name of the British flag. It cultivated the Indian tribes, and through contact with its hardy and crafty hunters, these powerful tribes were practical allies in the great struggle for territory and power. Their factors were the merchant princes of the early days and it is recorded that from an original capital stock of \$50,820 it tripled twice in fifty years from profits only, and in 1821 had a capital of \$1,916,000. It is also said that in 1846, when the English government conceded our claim to Oregon, the property

of this company in what was then the Oregon country was valued by it at \$4,990,036.

Meantime Lewis and Clark in 1804-6, the American Fur Company of St. Louis in 1808, John Jacob Astor in 1810, with his overland expedition and his ships, the *Tonquin* and the *Beaver*, the *Lark*, the builder and founder of Astoria, the restoration of Astoria under the words of the treaty of Ghent of December 14, 1814, which occurred in 1818 when the English flag was hauled down and the Stars and Stripes raised instead—these men and these events had done much for the American cause. It was at this time that Rufus Choate said in the senate of the United States: "Keep your eye always open, like the eyes of your own eagle, upon the Oregon. Watch day and night. If any new developments of policy break forth, meet them. If the times change, do you change! New things in a new world. Eternal vigilance is the condition of empire as well as of liberty." In 1821 Floyd's committee reported to Congress a bill recommending the establishment of small trading guards on the Missouri and Columbia, and to secure immigration to Oregon from the United States and from China. In 1823 a special committee was raised in Congress to consider the military occupation of the mouth of the Columbia, and it recommended a dispatch of two hundred men overland at once, and two vessels with supplies and stores, and that four or five military posts be established on the Pacific and one at Council Bluffs—the latter the frontier post. In 1824 Mr. Rush, the American minister at London, claimed for the United States the country from the forty-second parallel to the fifty-first, to which the English government replied that it would never yield anything north of the Columbia. Presidents Monroe and Adams in 1824 and 1825, respectively, in their annual messages recommended a survey of the mouth of the river and the surrounding country,

resulting in a bill which was introduced and slept in some dusty pigeonhole until 1828.

Thus matters rested until the friends of Oregon in Congress, notably Thomas H. Benton and Senator Linn of Missouri, many of whose kindred had already hurried into the disputed land, forced the great contending parties to action. From October 18, 1818, to June 15, 1846, the Oregon Country was jointly occupied by the United States and Great Britain, and this was British soil as to the subjects of that country and American soil as to those who had been and were born of American parentage or citizenship. In the preliminary correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, as conducted by John C. Calhoun as Secretary of State, in his letters to Right Hon. R. Packenham, the British plenipotentiary, dated September 20, 1844, and September 3, 1844, the reply to the first, of date September 12, 1844, and as continued by James Buchanan, as Secretary of State, to Mr. Packenham, dated July 12, 1845, and August 30, 1845, and the reply to the first, of date July 29, 1845, the final claims of the two contestants are tersely and clearly stated. These state papers, with a map of the country by Robert Greenhow, compiled from the best known authorities at that time, were published in London at the time. The boundary line of 1818 of the Oregon Country is indicated upon this map, and it began where the present international boundary intersects the Rocky Mountains, thence running northerly into British Columbia along this range of mountains to fifty-four degrees forty minutes north latitude, thence west to the Pacific Ocean, near and north of Dixon channel, thence south along the coast to forty-two degrees, thence east along the north boundary of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains, and thence northerly to the place of beginning. By this map Salt Lake is located in Mexico. The map was lithographed by Day & Haghe, lithogra-

phers to the Queen, then the good and gracious Victoria, a young queen, aged twenty-six years. The British proposal was to limit Oregon to the forty-ninth parallel, where the same is crossed by the Columbia, thence down the Columbia to the sea, excepting that a small circular area from Bulfinch's Harbor to Hood's Canal, as then called, and being the region south and southwesterly from Port Townsend, Wash., was reserved for the United States, but wholly detached from the mainland, and at a point where no harbor exists to-day. The American secretaries based our claim upon prior discovery, and the Spanish and French title, and in part upon the previous treaties. The name of Captain Gray and his discovery of the Columbia are mentioned as strong proof of the American title, and the fact that Captain Meares, the English navigator, failed to discover the same river and gave us a monument to his failure when he named Cape Disappointment and called the inlet opposite the mouth of the mighty river, which he passed by, "Deception Bay."

But while Calhoun and Buchanan were fencing in diplomacy with the representatives of the British crown, and long before, President Polk on August 5, 1846, proclaimed the treaty with Great Britain by which our title was formally recognized, the pioneers of the great Oregon Country, had taken possession of all this vast domain in the name of their country, and some of them enriched these fertile valleys with the blood of American patriots defending American homes against the Indian savages on the one hand, and the more peaceful aggression of the Hudson Bay Company and other subjects of the British crown. These pioneers as early as July 5, 1845, by their legislative committee, adopted what is now known as the "organic law of the provisional government of Oregon." This document was written by Lee, Newell, Applegate, Smith, and McClure. It was adopted by the house, or leg-

islative committee, on July 2, 1845, submitted to a vote of the people and carried by a majority of 203 votes.

The first attempt at local government in Oregon began in 1841, resulting on July 5, 1843, in an executive and legislative committee, the former consisting of three members, and the latter of one member from each district. This was followed by the provisional government under the organic act just mentioned which continued until Gen. Joseph Lane, the first territorial governor, arrived at Oregon City, announced and put into operation the new territorial government, established by act of Congress and approved August 14, 1848. The organic act framed by these illustrious co-workers in the establishment of this Commonwealth breathes the inspiration of the Declaration of Independence, and is grounded upon the laws and constitutions of the older States, from whence the people had come. It declared that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceful and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments." It preserved the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, proportional representation of the people in the legislature, and judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All crimes were subject to bail except capital offenses, where the proof was evident or the presumption great. All fines should be moderate; no cruel or unusual punishment should be inflicted; no man deprived of his liberty but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; no property to be taken without compensation; no law ever to be passed to affect private contracts. Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education were to be encouraged. Good faith towards the Indians in every way was required. It is worth notice that section 4, article I, of this organic act which reads, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude

in said territory otherwise than for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted," is exactly reproduced in the thirteenth amendment of the Federal Constitution, which emancipated the slave, and which was formally adopted February 1, 1868,—nearly twenty years later. The same general lines are used in this act as now appears in the State constitution in the main, and it is a model of brief, clear, and intelligent legislation. Strange as it may now seem, this provisional government was supported by the citizens of both countries, and offices under it could be filled by British subjects, who could in their oath of office swear to support the same and the organic law so far as was consistent with their duties as subjects of Great Britain. This organic act was modeled after the articles of compact contained in the ordinance for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River, passed July 13, 1787, which articles were extended to the new territory by the act of Congress approved August 14, 1848, which established the territorial government. It must be that some pioneer who helped to frame the act for the provisional government was an admirer of the Ordinance of 1787, and had carried with him into this wild and distant land a printed copy of the same. The treaty was signed as before stated, June 15, 1846, the proclamation thereof made by the President August 5, 1846, and yet the act of Congress creating a territorial government for this immense empire was not passed until August 14, 1848, a delay of more than two years.

It is thus seen that although the two greatest nations of the earth, then and now, had decided in a formal way that the territory belonged to the United States, the general government took no direct control over it until this act, and the distinction is ours, that we were neither a state nor a territory for this time. Section 1 of this Federal statute declared that "from and after the passage of this

act all that part of the territory of the United States which lies west of the summit of the Rocky Mountains, north of the forty-second degree of north latitude, known as the Territory of Oregon, shall be organized into and constitute a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Oregon." By act of Congress approved March 2, 1853, the Territory of Washington was created out of that portion of the Territory of Oregon lying north of the Columbia River, from its mouth to the point where the forty-sixth degree of north latitude crosses such river, and from thence eastward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and of the territory north of such degree. Under the congressional act Governor Lane appointed Oregon City the place, and July 16, 1849, the time, for holding the first territorial legislative assembly. An extra session was called by him at the same place, May 6, 1850, and a second regular session was held there, beginning on the first Monday of December, 1850. By act of February 1, 1851, the territorial assembly located the seat of government at Salem, and by the act of January 16, 1855, to take effect March 1 following, the seat of government was removed to and located at Corvallis; and by an act of date December 12, 1855, it was again re-located at Salem, to take effect in three days thereafter.

On September 27, 1850, Congress passed the great land act, known as the "Donation Land Law," being the first congressional legislation affecting the public lands in Oregon. The policy of Congress was most liberal to settlers in this respect, the act giving to a single person, man or woman, 320 acres, or to a married man, or if he should become married within one year from the first day of December, 1850, 640 acres. It is the only instance in the public land laws where a half-section of land was offered as a reward to the man who should marry, and at the same time allowed him fourteen months in which to do so.

The territorial assembly, by an act passed December 12, 1856, authorized a constitutional convention of sixty delegates to be chosen at the general election on the first Monday of June, 1857. The convention met at Salem on the third Monday of August, 1857, and adjourned September 18, 1857, having provided for the submission of the constitution proposed to a vote of the people at an election to be held November 9, 1857. This constitution was on this day adopted by a vote of 7,195 in its favor and 3,195 against it. The act of Congress admitting Oregon into the Union was approved February 14, 1859, by James Buchanan, the President, thus giving him the double honor in this, that as Secretary of State under President Polk he had negotiated the treaty with England, by which the United States finally acquired undisputed sovereignty over the disputed territory, and as President, approved the act, which gave the Union another great State. It may be remarked that the constitution as framed, has never been abrogated, modified, or amended excepting any amendment to section 1, article IV, conferring upon the voters the power to enact or veto proposed laws, and is still the organic law of the State. At the time of its submission the slavery question was the burning issue and the question was submitted therewith, there being 2,645 in favor of slavery and 7,727 votes opposed. George L. Curry was Governor at this time, and B. F. Harding, Secretary of the Territory. The members of the constitutional convention chosen to represent Yamhill County, and whose names are appended to the document, were J. R. McBride, R. V. Short, R. C. Kinney, and W. Olds. Matthew P. Deady, the president of the convention, was a delegate chosen to represent Douglas County. Many will remember, also, that John Kelsay was there from Benton; J. K. Kelly from Clackamas; John W. Watts from Columbia; Stephen F. Chadwick from Douglas; P. P. Prim and John H. Reed

from Jackson; Delazon Smith from Linn; I. R. Moores, W. W. Bristow, and Enoch Hoult from Lane; L. F. Grover, George H. Williams, Richard Miller, and John C. Peeples from Marion; David Logan from Multnomah; Thomas J. Dryer from Multnomah and Washington; Reuben P. Boise, B. F. Burch, and Fred Waymire from Polk; Jesse Applegate from Umpqua; E. D. Shattuck from Washington. These twenty-six names have become a part of the public history of Oregon, and these men are widely known. Nearly all of the number have joined the silent dead, a few remain. It would be invidious to speak in detail of their achievements.

As early as March 16, 1838, J. L. Whitcomb and thirty-five other settlers prepared a memorial to Congress and the same was presented in the senate January 28, 1839, by Senator Linn, the object being to show the United States the necessity of action. In June, 1840, Senator Linn presented a second memorial signed by seventy citizens requesting Congress to establish a territorial government in Oregon Territory. On February 14, 1841, a meeting was called at Champoege, Marion County, for the purpose of consultation as to what should be done towards a local government. Rev. Jason Lee was made chairman of the meeting. After the funeral ceremonies over Ewing Young were ended another meeting was held looking to the same end. This meeting decided upon a legislative committee as a governing body, a governor, a supreme judge, three justices of the peace, three constables, three road commissioners, an attorney general, a clerk of the courts, a treasurer, and two overseers of the poor. Being unable to agree upon a candidate for governor, the duties of that office devolved upon Dr. I. L. Babcock, chosen as the first supreme judge. The majority of the people in the territory at that time were either connected with the

missions, either Protestant or Catholic, the Hudson Bay Company, or were French Canadians.

It is said that the first regular emigration from the United States to this disputed and doubtful territory came in 1841. Senators Linn and Benton of Missouri, by their enthusiastic and noble defense of our rights to this country, encouraged and inspired much of the early emigration. It is fitting that to-day the two valley counties, Benton and Linn, should perpetuate in grateful remembrance the names and deeds of these illustrious defenders of American control in this great contest. Senator Linn in 1842 introduced a bill granting donations of public lands to settlers, but because of his death October 3, 1843, generous land legislation was temporarily postponed. The most authentic records show that there were only 111 persons in the emigration of 1841; that of 1842 only 109, 55 of whom were over eighteen years of age. The train of 1842 left Independence, Mo., May 16, with only sixteen wagons. F. X. Matthieu and Medorum Crawford were leading spirits in this movement that year. Captain Crawford has left a written record of the names of those above the age of eighteen years, some of whom we have known as residents of Yamhill County. There was A. L. Lovejoy, for many years a leading figure at Oregon City, T. J. Shadden, whose donation is situated less than two miles northwesterly from McMinnville. He was also with General Fremont in 1846. There were Andrew Smith, Darling Smith, and David Weston. The party arrived at Oregon City, October 5, 1842. Captain Crawford records the fact, of great interest to us, that within the present limits of Yamhill County, the only settlers he could remember who were then living in the county were Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Francis Fletcher, James O'Neill; Joseph McLaughlin, Mr. Williams, Louis La Bonte, and George Gay. Sidney Smith settled in the Chehalem Val-

ley; Amos Cook and Francis Fletcher settled south of Lafayette and immediately adjoining thereto; George Gay near the present boundary line between the counties of Polk and Yamhill and near the road leading to Salem from Lafayette and Dayton.

David Hill, Alanson Beers, and Joseph Gale were chosen the first executive committee on July 5, 1843. A. E. Wilson was chosen as the next supreme judge. The emigration of 1843 was the most important in the history of this controversy. The emigrants assembled near Independence, Mo., and on May 17, 1843, a preliminary meeting was held there to organize for the journey. Peter H. Burnett was a speaker at this gathering and was chosen captain of the train. On May 20, 1843, the train started, having as a guide an army officer, Capt. John Gantt, who knew the country as far west as Green River. Dr. Marcus Whitman and A. L. Lovejoy met the emigrants *en route* and guided them from Green River to The Dalles, although Doctor Whitman was compelled to leave the train at Fort Hall, preceding them to Walla Walla. Senator James W. Nesmith was a conspicuous figure in that party of brave men and women, and has left a record of every male member of the emigration of that year. In that roll of honor are the names of many whom the people of Yamhill County know and who are really and truly "the pioneers." There is Jesse Applegate, William Arthur, Peter H. Burnett, the first governor of California, Andrew J. Baker, still living at McMinnville, John G. Baker, once sheriff of this county and whose donation lies less than a mile north of McMinnville; John B. Pennington, whose donation lies about two miles southwest of Carlton, whose daughter, Mary J. Crimmins, still living on part of the claim, was born *en route*, at Ash Hollow, on North Platte, July 6; Miles Carey, whose widow, Cyrene B. Carey, in a good old age, lives at Lafayette, and was

one of the party herself, Daniel Cronin, Samuel Cozine, whose donation is the site of the Baptist College at McMinnville, and who passed away in 1897; Ransom Clarke, Thomas Davis, the three Delanys, Ninevah Ford, Ephriam Ford, Charles Fendall, Enoch Garrison, W. J. Garrison, Andrew Hembree, J. J. Hembree, James T. Hembree, A. J. Hembree, W. C. Hembree, Abijah Hendricks, whose donation lies north of Lafayette about four miles; Joseph Hess of East Chehalem, Jacob Haun, whose donation lies west of Lafayette; Henry Hill, Almorán Hill, Henry Hewett, John Holman, Daniel Holman, who still lives and who has a donation about six miles southwest of McMinnville; G. W. McGarey, the five Mathenys, Elijah Millican, whose donation lies just west of Lafayette; Madison Malone, whose donation lies about a mile northeast of McMinnville; W. T. Newby, who founded and named McMinnville from a town of that name in Tennessee and whose donation is the site of the city; Thomas Owen, whose claim is south and west of that of Samuel Davis; the Waldos of Marion; N. K. Sitton, whose donation is west of Carlton three or four miles. There are many others whose names have been written in the history of the State, and some others perhaps whom I do not recall who may have settled in this section. When these early pioneers arrived they found some whose names are familiar; Medorum Crawford, Francis Fletcher, Amos Cook, George Gay, Sidney Smith, Darling Smith, and F. X. Matthieu, already mentioned, and in addition thereto the various missionaries and men connected therewith.

There were but three legislative districts at the general election on the 14th day of May, 1844, and they were Tualatin, Champoege, and Clackamas. Yamhill County was included in the first named, which also embraced Washington, Multnomah, Columbia, Clatsop, Tillamook, and Polk, as now described. Champoege district embraced what is

now Linn, Marion, Lane, Josephine, Coos, Curry, Benton, Douglas, and Jackson counties; the Clackamas district included what is now Clackamas County, eastern Oregon, a portion of Montana, and all of Idaho and Washington. At this election 15 to 22 votes were cast in the entire Tualatin district, and 140 to 244 in the entire country for candidates. Ira L. Babcock was elected supreme judge at this time, receiving in the entire Oregon Country 88 votes as against 39 cast for James W. Nesmith. The first speaker chosen was M. M. McCarver, and was so elected at the session of the legislative committee held at Willamette Falls June 18, 1844.

All legislative acts were framed by this committee, but were required to be submitted to the people for popular approval before going into effect. The emigration of 1844 added about 800 people to the American population. The starting point were Independence, Mo., the mouth of the Platt and Capler's Landing near St. Joseph. There were three trains or divisions, commanded respectively by Cornelius Gilliam, Nathaniel Ford, and Major Thorp. In that year came Joel Chrisman, Gabriel Chrisman, William Chrisman, the Goffs of Polk, Daniel Durbin of Marion, the Gilliams, the Fords, the Gerrishs, Jacob Hoover of Washington, now dead, Joseph Holman, George Hibbler, G. L. Rowland, at one time living east of Carlton, James Johnson and wife, John Perkins, whose donation is located near North Yamhill; Daniel Johnson, now dead, whose donation lies immediately northwest of Lafayette and upon which the Masonic cemetery is located, Elzina Johnson, his widow, who is still living at Lafayette; John Minto of Salem; the McDaniels of Polk; Nehemiah Martin, whose sons live near McMinnville; Luke Mulkey, George Nelson, the venerable "Uncle George," whom many of us knew years ago at Lafayette; and J. C. Nelson, his son, still living at West Chehalem. There was also Ben

Robinson, whose donation is just south of Dayton, Joseph Watt of Amity, who is now dead, and Benjamin and Vincent Snelling. Jeremiah Rowland, for many years familiarly known as Judge Rowland at McMinnville, and long since passed away, was in the party. James Marshall, the man who discovered gold at Sutter's mill in California and which event made that State a world-wide fame, was also an emigrant this year, coming first to Oregon. There was Thomas C. Shaw of Marion, the Eades, the Nichols brothers, J. S. Smith, elected to Congress in 1868, Samuel McSwain, Alanson Hinman, John Bird, who died at Lafayette a few years ago and whose donation lies a short distance north of Dayton and east of Lafayette, Charles Burch of Amity, all names closely and honorably identified with the pioneer history of this State.

The first annual election was held June 3, 1845, at which George Abernethy was elected governor, receiving only 46 votes from Clackamas, 58 from Tualatin, 51 from Champoege, 22 from Clatsop, and 51 from Yamhill. The total vote cast was only 504. J. W. Nesmith was elected supreme judge, receiving 473 votes and having no opposition. Joseph L. Meek received 267 votes for sheriff to 215 cast for A. J. Hembree, the latter receiving 61 votes in Yamhill to 15 for Meek. Among the representatives chosen at that election was Abijah Hendricks, who was chosen to represent Yamhill district, receiving every vote polled at the time and which was only 38. The legislature consisted of thirteen members, remaining in session two weeks at Oregon City and began its session June 24, 1845. The memorial to Congress was framed by this body, dated June 28, 1845, signed by the members, and in addition thereto by Osborn Russell and P. G. Stewart, of the executive committee, and Judge J. W. Nesmith. Mr. Russell had just been defeated by Abernethy for the office of governor, whose friends by his consent, threw

their vote against A. L. Lovejoy, who was the regular nominee of the convention held at Champoeg. This legislature selected Dr. Elijah White to convey the memorial to Washington, adjourned to August 5, 1845, passed a law making wheat a legal tender at the market price, and adjourned *sine die* August 20, 1845.

On December 2, 1845, under the new constitution, adopted July 5, 1845, the same body met, held a session of seventeen days, created the county of Polk, and also Lewis County, the latter embracing at that time all of Washington west of the Cascades. Sheriff Meek took a census in 1845 of the population in the five districts, exclusive of the region east of the mountains and north of the Columbia. The returns show 18 housekeepers in Clackamas, 24 in Champoeg, 17 in Clatsop, 14 in Tualatin, and 16 in Yamhill. There were 109 heads of families in Yamhill and 405 in the five districts. There were 419 males and 382 females under twelve years of age, of which there were 79 males and 65 females in Yamhill. There were 117 males and 103 females in the five districts over twelve and under eighteen years, of which 31 males and 24 females were in Yamhill. There were 615 males and 322 females over eighteen and under forty-five in the five districts, 124 males and 57 females of which were in Yamhill. There were 110 men and 41 women forty-five years old and over in the five districts, of which 25 men and 9 women resided in Yamhill. The total population in the five districts was composed of 1,259 males and 851 females, of which 257 males and 158 females lived in Yamhill. Only 415 people at that time in the entire county, extended as its area then was, and of this number only 147 were men, including boys over eighteen years of age.

How widely separated were they, and what attachments grew up between these hardy adventurers, far from their kindred and not knowing whether they were living in a

country ultimately to be ruled and controlled by the Union or the British crown, surrounded by hostile and numerous Indian tribes, deprived of the comforts of civilization, these early builders of a great State deservedly hold an exalted place in the history of Oregon. There was, in addition to this, active opposition to the formation of any local government by many of the subjects of Great Britain, notably the Canadians, who held a public meeting at Champœg, March 4, 1843, and issued an address couched in friendly terms, but most unmistakably hostile to the action of the Americans who were attempting to organize a provisional government. The eleventh paragraph of this address is a succinct statement of their position, and reads: "That we consider the country free, at present, to all nations, till government shall have decided; open to every individual wishing to settle without any distinction of origin and without asking him either to become an English, Spanish, or American citizen." The legislative committee recommended that four districts be created, and the boundaries of the Yamhill district, as defined by their report adopted by the people July 5, 1843, embraced all the country west of the Willamette or Multnomah River, and a supposed line running north and south from said river, south of the Yamhill River to the parallel of forty-two degrees north latitude, or the boundary line of the United States and California, and east of the Pacific Ocean. The Tuality district embraced all of the country north of the Yamhill River, east of the Pacific Ocean and south of the northern boundary of the United States.

In a message of the executive committee of date December 16, 1844, addressed to the legislative committee and signed by Osborn Russell and P. G. Stewart, this language, which at this date sounds like romance, was used: "The lines defining the limits of the separate claims of the United States and of Great Britain to this portion

of the country had not been agreed upon when our latest advices left the United States, and as far as we can learn, the question now stands in the same position as before the convention in London in 1818." After stating that negotiations had thus far failed of agreement between the two countries, the message proceeds: "And we find that after all the negotiations that have been carried on between the United States and Great Britain, relative to settling their claims to this country from October, 1818, up to May, 1844, a period of nearly twenty-six years, the question remains in the following unsettled condition, namely, neither of the parties in question claim exclusive right to the country lying west of the Rocky Mountains between the parallels of forty-two degrees and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude, and bordering on the Pacific Ocean, but one claims as much right as the other, and both claim the right of joint occupancy of the whole without prejudice to the claims of any other state or power of any part of said country." In another part it reads: "We are informed that the number of emigrants who have come from the United States to this country during the present year amounts to upwards of 750 persons." The message concludes: "As descendants of the United States and of Great Britain we should honor and respect the countries which gave us birth; and as citizens of Oregon we should, by a uniform course of proceeding and a strict observance of the rules of justice, equity, and republican principles, without party distinctions, use our best endeavors to cultivate the kind feeling, not only of our native countries, but of all of the powers or states with whom we may have intercourse."

This remarkable document was listened to at the time by Peter H. Burnett, David Hill, M. M. McCarver, Mr. Gilmore from Tuality district, A. L. Lovejoy from Clackamas, Daniel Waldo, Thomas D. Keizer, and Robert Newell of

Champoeg, at the residence of J. E. Long at Oregon City. These men composed the duly elected legislative committee, and were holding an adjourned session of the same body that had been in session in June and July preceding. They adjourned *sine die* the day before Christmas, 1844. The Yamhill district was not represented at this session, but at the second session, which convened June 24, 1845, at Oregon City, Jesse Applegate and Abijah Hendricks were the members from this district. There were thirteen members in this body and five counties or districts were represented. M. M. McCarver was chosen speaker from Tuality, being his second term in that capacity. On July 3, 1845, on motion of William H. Gray of Clackamas, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of one from each county be appointed to report a bill for the protection of this colony; the building of block-houses, magazines, and the revision of the military laws; and make such suggestions to this house as they may deem important or necessary for the peace and safety of the colony.

On August 18, 1845, Governor Abernethy sent a message to the house, in substance saying that he had received an answer from Col. Nathaniel Ford declining the office of supreme judge, and the Oregon archives record that "on motion the house went into secret session to fill the office of supreme judge of Oregon, which resulted in the choice of P. H. Burnett." The session adjourned *sine die* August 20, 1845. Absalom J. Hembree represented Yamhill County at the session which convened at the hotel in Oregon City, December 1, 1846, fourteen members being present. A. L. Lovejoy was elected speaker, and on the second day it was —

Resolved, That the editor of the *Oregon Spectator* be allowed a seat at the clerk's table for the purpose of reporting the proceedings of the present legislature.

The message of Governor Abernethy, dated December 1, 1846, says: "The boundary question, the question of

great importance to us as a people, there is every reason to believe is finally settled," and relies for his authority upon the *Polynesian*, a paper published August 29, 1846, in the Sandwich Islands, which extract quoted reads: "The senate ratified the treaty upon the Oregon question by a vote of 41 to 14." The Governor proceeds to say that the *Polynesian* credits this news item to the *New York Gazette and Times* of the issue of June 19, and he adds: "Should this information prove correct, we may shortly expect officers from the United States Government to take formal possession of Oregon and extend over us protection we have long and anxiously looked for." Speaking of the emigration of 1846, the Governor says: "Another emigration has crossed the Rocky Mountains, and most of the party has arrived in the settlements. About 152 wagons reached this place very early in the season via Barlow's road, for which a charter was granted him at your last session. About 100 wagons are on their way, if they have not already reached the upper settlements by the southern route. They have no doubt been detained by traveling a new route. The difficulties attending the opening of a wagon road are very great and probably will account in some measure for their detention. The emigration falls very far short of last year, probably not numbering over 1,000 souls. This is accounted for by a great part of the emigration turning off to California. We trust that those coming among us may have no cause to regret the decision that brought them to Oregon." There were sixteen members in this house.

In his message to the legislature of date December 7, 1847, Governor Abernethy says: "The emigration the past season has been much larger than any preceding one, amounting to between 4,000 and 5,000 souls. They have all arrived in the settlements, unless a few families should still be at The Dalles and Cascades, and scattered them-

selves over the territory. The most of them are farmers and mechanics: They will add much to the future welfare and prosperity of Oregon." He complains of the long delay upon the part of the United States in assuming Federal control, and excuses this by attributing the same to the war with Mexico, then not concluded, as he states.

In the house, which convened at Oregon City, December 7, 1847, there were eighteen members, A. J. Hembree and L. Rogers representing Yamhill County. On Wednesday, December 8, 1847, the journal recites that "The sergeant-at-arms announced a special communication from the Governor, which was read by the clerk, consisting of a number of letters from messengers of the forts on the Columbia, announcing the horrid murder of Doctor Whitman, family, and others, accompanied by a letter from the Governor, praying the immediate action of the house in the matter." Mr. Nesmith offered and there was adopted a resolution requiring the Governor to provide arms for, and equip and dispatch not to exceed fifty men, armed with rifles, to occupy the mission at The Dalles and wait for reënforcements there. This legislature commissioned Joseph L. Meek a special messenger to go to Washington to implore Federal aid in the suppression of the Indian uprising, and a resolution was passed on the day before Christmas, 1847, respectfully inviting and requesting the commander-in-chief of the United States land and naval forces in California and the American Consul at the Sandwich Islands to render all the assistance in their power. Medorum Crawford was a member of the body representing the county of Clackamas. Mr. Hembree, representing Yamhill County, introduced and had passed a bill to locate a territorial road from Linn City, Tuality County, to Zed Martin's in Yamhill County. But few of us know where this would now be, although it is believed that Linn City was just opposite Oregon City, and Zed Martin's was

perhaps near McMinnville. On Tuesday, December 5, 1848, the legislature again assembled at Oregon City, A. J. Hembree, L. A. Rice, and William J. Martin being the representatives from Yamhill County. Samuel R. Thurston, the first territorial delegate to Washington, was then a member from Tuality, and George L. Curry from Clackamas. There were twenty-one members elected to this body. Peter H. Burnett had been again elected as a member from Tuality, but he had resigned and gone to California before the session. In view of the legislative muddle in this State in 1897 it may be interesting to note that on December 8, 1848, this legislative body adopted a resolution authorizing and requiring the arrest of William J. Baily, William Porter, and Albert Gains of Champoege County, Anderson Cox of Linn County, and Harrison Linville of Polk County. These members, although the resolution recites that they were duly elected and entitled to seats, were treated as members and the sergeant-at-arms was given a writ of attachment for their arrest. They were promptly arrested as far as found. The members so arrested presented excuses, these were accepted, and the members seated. This was all done before a speaker was elected, and as a matter of right founded upon plain principles of parliamentary law. Being unable, however, to procure the attendance of sixteen members at that time necessary to form a quorum, the unorganized house adjourned to February 5, 1849. On that day Governor Abernethy delivered his annual message into the hands of the sergeant-at-arms, who delivered the sealed document to the speaker, and the clerk read the same to the members. The Governor notes the fact that the legislature had convened in special session for the purpose of transacting the business of the regular session, but which had failed because that session was not attended by a sufficient number to make a quorum. He communicates the

fact that Congress had passed an act creating a territorial government. It is also stated that the expenses for services of private soldiers and noncommissioned officers in the Indian war, which had been concluded, was \$109,311.50, allowing \$1.50 per day per man, as authorized by the act of December 28, 1847. Medorum Crawford on Thursday, February 15, 1849, introduced his written protest, saying that he voted "no" on the passage of an act to provide for the weighing and assaying of gold, melting and stamping the same, because the act authorized the coining of money and was therefore contrary to the Constitution of the United States, because he believed an officer of the United States would soon arrive, whose duty it would be to prohibit the operation of a mint, and because he believed the act inexpedient. William J. Martin also protested, giving as reasons the same as those given by Captain Crawford, but added: "Because it is making this Territory a shaving machine by allowing sixteen dollars and fifty cents per ounce."

On December 12, 1846, the Governor approved an act of the legislative committee by which a territorial road was authorized, "commencing at the town of Portland on the Willamette River, proceeding thence the nearest and best way to where the present road crosses Tuality River near the residence of David Hill, at what is commonly called the 'new bridge,' thence the nearest and best way to the falls below the forks of Yamhill River, thence the nearest and best way to the mouth of Mary's River in Polk County." Joseph Avery of Polk, Sylvanus Moon of Yamhill, and Joseph Gale of Tuality were named as commissioners to locate this road, and they were to be governed by an act of the Territory of Iowa, approved December 29, 1838. The north boundary line of Yamhill County was fixed by an act December 11, 1846, as commencing at a point opposite the mouth of Pudding River, thence

northwest on top of the main ridge dividing the waters of the Tuality River from the waters which flow into Chehalem Valley, thence along the dividing ridge near Jesse Cayton's in a straight line to the top of the dividing ridge between the waters of the rivers of Yamhill and Tuality to the top of the mountain between said river, thence west to the Pacific Ocean." An earlier act approved December 19, 1845, defined the boundaries of the various districts or counties, but the north boundary of Yamhill County, as thereby defined, began in the middle of the main channel of the Willamette River, one mile below the Butte and ran due west to the Pacific Ocean, thus cutting off all the North Yamhill country and a portion of West Chehalem.

On June 26, 1844, an act was passed whereby Ransom Clark, H. J. Hembree (evidently intended for A. J. Hembree), and Joel Palmer were designated and appointed commissioners to view out and mark a way for a road from the Willamette Falls to the falls of the Yamhill River, and required to report to Amos Cook, who was by the same act appointed overseer of the road and required to open the same. It was further provided that all the hands residing in Yamhill County and all residing near the Yamhill River, but living in Tuality County, be assigned to said overseer to work upon the opening of this highway. On January 28, 1853, the legislative assembly of the territory, then composed of a house and council, and while B. F. Harding was speaker of the house and M. P. Deady president of the council, passed an act whereby Joseph Garrison, Daniel Matheny, Mr. Leig, and J. B. Chrisman were as commissioners authorized to view and locate a territorial road from Salem to Dayton, crossing the Willamette at Daniel Matheny's ferry, then located at Wheatland.

But let us not forget to mention the emigration subsequent to 1844, and particularly some whose names are familiar to all. It is estimated that about two thousand people were added to the territory by this year's influx, among them J. C. Avery, John Waymire, Frederick Waymire, Stephen Staats, John Durbin, William J. Herrin, Gen. Joel Palmer; John M. Forrest, James Allen, G. H. Baber, J. M. Bacon, Caroline E. Bailey, now Mrs. Dr. J. W. Watts, William G. Buffum, who was 40 years old when he arrived, but whom we of the younger generation knew as a good old man, many years a resident of Amity; Benjamin F. Burch, now dead, adjutant in the Cayuse war and captain in the Yakima war; he was a member of the constitutional convention and of the first state legislature; J. J. Burton, whose donation adjoins North Yamhill. The Cornelius family of Washington County came this year also. There was Amos Harvey, W. Carey Johnson, and Daniel H. Lownsdale. General Palmer came to the Territory this year, but returned for his relatives and family, who came with him in 1847, and with this party came Geer and Grim of Marion, and the Grahams and the Collards and Christopher Taylor. Colonel Taylor lies buried in the Dayton cemetery. General Palmer was quartermaster and commissary general, and served throughout the Cayuse war. James W. Rogers, whose donation lies just southwest of McMinnville, came this year. Mrs. B. F. Hartman, Mrs. J. T. Fouts, Mrs. J. J. Collard, and R. Gantt are enrolled in the pioneer association of Yamhill County as belonging to the emigration of 1845. There are, no doubt, others whose names I have been unable to obtain. It is impossible to give in detail the names of those who came in 1846. The printed report of the proceedings of the Yamhill County Pioneer Association, recorded at the annual meeting June 26, 1896, gives but a partial list of that and subsequent years. Glenn O. Burnett, the pioneer minister of the

Christian Church, with his family, came in 1846. His daughter, Martha E. Holman, wife of Daniel S. Holman, still survives her beloved father, who died in California several years ago. Mrs. Holman, until recently, resided on her original donation. Another daughter, Mrs. Charles B. Graves, died at Independence this year. George W. Burnett, with his family, came that year. He was born in Tennessee in 1811, served as captain of a company of volunteers, organized in this county and Washington, and led them to the front in the Cayuse war. His venerable widow, Sydney A. Burnett, survives him and at the age of 89 lives at Albany. Samuel Davis, whose donation lies just southwest of McMinnville, the Davis brothers, A. C., Levi, John B., and William, his sons, J. W. Shelton, J. T. Simpson, Mrs. D. W. Laughlin, and Joseph Kirkwood are also mentioned as coming this year. Mrs. Emily J. Snelling, at one time secretary of the Yamhill County Pioneer Association, is enrolled as a member. Robert Henderson, whose donation lies west of Amity about three miles and who has been dead some years, was a pioneer of 1846. There is also A. L. Alderman of Dayton, whose donation joins Dayton on the north. Dr. James McBride, father of United States Senator George W. McBride, at one time United States minister to the Hawaiian Islands, came this year at the age of about 40. He died at St. Helens, December 18, 1875. His donation lies nearly west of Carlton about four miles.

Here the personal narrative, so interesting to me, must from necessity end. The year 1846 was the turning point in the history of the Oregon question, and while those pioneers who came afterwards and here helped to rear and found a State, deserve to be and are remembered for their deeds of bravery, self-sacrifice, and devotion; they came to a country whose title had been settled in favor of the United States, from whence they came. They did not, as

those before them, venture into the Oregon Country not knowing whether the struggle would end in their complete surrender to and subjugation by the British crown. They knew they were to always remain Americans, and that they and their children should not cease to follow the American flag, and help to form and execute the laws of a common country. In this year began the war with Mexico, which gave us Texas and California. The political convention which nominated James K. Polk for president, instructed its candidate to take advanced ground for immediate reannexation of Texas, and reoccupation of Oregon. His party claimed Oregon under the Louisiana purchase, concluded in 1803 by Mr. Jefferson. It declared with vigor that our title up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes north latitude was clear and undisputable. Elected on this issue and kindred questions Mr. Polk in his inaugural address, as Mr. Blaine says: "Carefully reaffirmed the position respecting Oregon, which his party had taken in the national canvass and quoted part of the phrase used in the platform put forth by the convention which nominated him." It was resolved to give notice to Great Britain that the joint occupation under the treaty of 1827 must cease. John Quincy Adams, then a member of the house of representatives and ex-president of the United States, who had negotiated the first treaty while he was Secretary of State, and the second while he was President, supported the claim of our government up to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes in a very able and eloquent speech in Congress. He was of course a Whig, and Mr. Polk a Democrat, and by his powerful aid the resolution to give notice passed the house February 9, 1846, by a vote of 163 to 54. It will be remembered that Henry Clay, the most brilliant statesman of our country, had been defeated by Mr. Polk and the Whigs felt chagrined at the result. They were inclined to chide their

opponents with cowardice when it became apparent that to assert our title to fifty-four degrees and forty minutes might lead to war with Great Britain unless a compromise could be effected. Texas was also considered more important by the pro-slavery element, and this encouraged the northern Whigs to hope for an addition of northern territory to maintain the progressive balance between free and slave territory. Mr. Webster, then a senator, read a carefully written speech urging a settlement on the forty-ninth parallel as honorable to both countries. Mr. Berrien of Georgia urged this as the rightful line, making an exhaustive argument. Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky, the home of Clay, urged the same position. The senate defeated the house resolution, passing a substitute leaving the giving of notice to quit to Great Britain to the discretion of the President, in which the house concurred. Mr. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," speaking of the Washington treaty of June 15, 1846, says: "This treaty was promptly confirmed by the senate, and the long controversy over the Oregon question was at rest. It had created a deep and widespread excitement in the country, and came very near precipitating hostilities with Great Britain. There is no doubt whatever that the English government would have gone to war rather than surrender the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel. This fact had made the winter and early spring of 1846 one of profound anxiety to all the people of the United States, and more especially those who were interested in the large mercantile marine, which sailed under the American flag. Taking the question, however, as it stood in 1846, the settlement must, upon full consideration and review, be adjudged honorable to both countries."

In March, 1847, Senator Benton gave a public letter to Mr. Shively, intended to encourage the settlers in Oregon in respect to early congressional action creating a territo-

rial government. He explains the reason for the long delay and closing says: "In conclusion I have to assure you that the same spirit which has made me the friend of Oregon for thirty years — which led me to denounce the joint occupation treaty the day it was made, and to oppose the renewal in 1828, and to labor for its abrogation until it was terminated; the same spirit which led me to reveal the grand destiny of Oregon in articles written in 1818, and to support every measure for her benefit ever since — the same spirit still animates me and will continue to do so while I live — which I hope will be long enough to see an emporium of Asiatic commerce at the mouth of your river, and a stream of Asiatic trade pouring into the valley of the Mississippi through the channel of Oregon." In the great debate which preceded the passage of the act of August 14, 1848, to establish the territorial government. Calhoun and Butler of South Carolina, Davis and Foote of Mississippi, and Hunter and Mason of Virginia were pitted against the bill because of the clause prohibiting slavery, taken from the Ordinance of 1787. Their worthy opponents and friends of the measure were Douglas, Benton, Webster, and Corwin of Ohio.

And such, is in brief the story of the struggle for Oregon. Such is a part of the early work done by the pioneers in the various forms of legislative, executive, and judicial work. These interesting historic records read like a romance, and I am slow to leave them to be retraced by others. The chapter of international events closes with the decree of the German Emperor given at Berlin, October 21, 1873, defining the meaning and extent of the boundary, as given in the treaty of June 15, 1846, declaring that the disputed line should be drawn through the Haro Channel.

How great a part of the nation's history is bound up in that of Oregon! Events are only great judged by the re-

sults. The chief battles of the world are remembered because they marked division of empire; end of dynasty or surrender to the victors. The heroic deeds of the pioneers of Oregon will never cease to inspire new courage and new patriotism, and to merit unstinted praise and permanent renown. The histories of our country are replete with the cruel butcheries inflicted by the Indians upon our ancestors who settled and subdued the wilds of Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The annals of the Indian wars of New England, New York, and the Middle States continue to startle and thrill the American youth. But the pioneers of Oregon risked these dangers and shared with each other these experiences, thousands of miles from kindred and native land. They not only faced the Indian foe, but they were the watchmen upon this far western coast, commissioned to do their part in the great international struggle between the mother country,—the Union,—and the British crown. When General Fremont overtook the emigrant train of 1843 at Bear River, near Fort Bridger, he found two brave, patriotic American women, who were moving towards Oregon with their husbands and little children. Mrs. Cyrene B. Carey, whom I have already mentioned, had just lost a little daughter, three years old, buried there in that Indian country. As the company of soldiers approached the alarm was given that the Indians were coming. Some of the men in the train were without bullets, and while they corralled the cattle, she and Mrs. A. J. Hembree moulded bullets for them. Mr. Gray came to the Carey wagon wanting to borrow a gun, whereupon her husband, Miles Carey, told him he could have hers. She replied, "No, you can not have my gun, for I am going to fight for my little ones and need my gun." Just then the American flag and the soldiers came into plain view, and the brave woman did not do more. A few days ago I stood in the cemetery at Jackson-

ville, and over the graves of Mr. and Mrs. Harris and their daughter Mary. A friend, who was a soldier in the Rogue River war of 1855, was with me. He, with a party of volunteers from Jacksonville, had rescued the mother and daughter from death and the body of the husband from mutilation. The story of their lives was brief and touching. On the 8th of October, 1855, the Indians had attacked them, killing a Mr. Reed, who lived with the family, carrying off, and no doubt killing, the little son of Mr. Harris, for he was never found. Mr. Harris was surprised, and as he retreated into his house wounded by the Indians, shot in the breast. His wife, with courage and bravery, closed and barred the door, and, in obedience to her husband's advice, brought out the arms which they had—a rifle, a double-barreled shotgun, a revolver, and a single-barreled pistol—and opened fire upon the murderous savages. Previous to this the little girl had been wounded in the arm and fled into the attic. For several hours she kept them at bay, although her husband had lived but a little while. She loaded her weapons and kept up a steady fire—there alone with a twelve-year-old girl wounded—her husband dead, her ten-year-old boy captured. She kept them at bay until nightfall. Under cover of the night she stole out of the house, taking her only remaining child with her and hiding themselves in the underbrush until next day they were rescued by the volunteers. Standing beside her grave I could not repress the unbidden tear, for my heart was touched by the simple story of a brave pioneer woman's defense of her humble home, her children and her life. To found a State, to build a commonwealth, to establish the national claim, to build American homes in this great unknown country, was the mission of these men and women. Have they not builded wisely and well? The matchless genius of Daniel Webster has made immortal the anniversary of the first settlement of New

England in his great masterpiece, delivered on Plymouth Rock at the age of 38, December, 22, 1820, nearly eighty years ago. He there said: "We feel that we are on the spot where the first scene of our history was laid; where the hearths and altars of New England were first placed; where Christianity and civilization and letters made their first lodgment in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness and peopled by roving barbarians." Speaking of the pilgrims of the Mayflower, he said, "They came hither to a land from which they were never to return. Hither they had brought and here they were to fix the hopes, the attachments, and the objects of their lives."

The words fitly describe the pioneers of Oregon. A century from now some future Webster, perhaps, in these sacred valleys, in some crowded forum, or some secluded spot, to generations yet unborn, may immortalize the deeds and achievements of these men and women, some of whom, bent with age, are still living. Their ranks are fast thinning, and in the course of nature, their race is nearly run. Let their honors rest upon them. We owe them more than we can ever repay. They were perhaps, many of them, unlettered men, unskilled in the arts of diplomacy, untutored in the devious ways of craft, but they were men of courage, devotion, honor, and truthfulness. Let us receive from them the blessings of a civil government, founded and defended by the bravest of Americans, and consecrated to liberty by their struggles, privations, and losses. Let us each year, as they become few upon earth and many on the other side, meet to commingle our words of praise, and add something to the glorious archives of the country. Turn backward the dial of time fifty years, and look upon this beautiful valley, these hills, verdant with nature, these skies perfect in a summer sun, or jeweled with a myriad of friendly stars! At that time there was no busy city, no mark or hand of

man, other than here and there a rude cabin, telling the wary savage or the lonely settler that within its walls the dreams of empire filled the brain of the pioneer. Here in these early days, upon the pathless prairies, and through these untrodden forests, our ancestors made their habitations, and in the vigor of youth began the conquest for this great Commonwealth. Uncover our heads, to those who remain! Not much longer will they bid the stranger welcome within their doors. Many of their households are rudely broken; the companions of these golden and heroic days have long since felt the touch of death, and here and there, unattended, but not forgotten, a few remain. It is said that when the soldiers under Napoleon at Waterloo met on the field of battle after the great slaughter, and saw the remnant of that once glorious army, they threw down their arms and embracing each other wept like children. When the few remaining pioneers meet together each passing year, and witness their broken ranks, recount their early sorrows and suffering, and treasure the precious memory of those who have fallen in the great struggle, there must come to them an affectionate recollection of those times and a sense of pain that these reunions will soon cease. They will soon be gathered to their fathers. We, their children, who have felt the touch of their hospitable hand and looked into their honest faces, have received from them a priceless inheritance. The words spoken seventy-two years ago at Bunker Hill appropriately express our thoughts:—

“And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation and on us sink deep into our hearts. Those are daily dropping from among us who established our liberty and our government. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon and Alfred and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled

them. But there remains to us a great duty of defense and preservation; and there is open to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction and an habitual feeling that these States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our duties over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And by the blessing of God may that country itself become a great and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!"

WILLIAM D. FENTON.

NOTES ON THE COLONIZATION OF OREGON.*

The colonization of Oregon by Americans, which occurred somewhat more than sixty years ago, deserves to rank well up among the four or five principal events of Pacific Coast history prior to the gold discovery. I think this position would not be disputed by those who have investigated the subject; but, unfortunately, the ordinary denizen of our section, whether he lives south or north of the forty-second parallel, begins his chronology with the rush of 1849, not even going back to the gold discovery of the preceding year. "Forty-nine" produced a psychological effect upon the western mind much like that which "the fall of the stars" or "the death of General Jackson" produced upon the Southern negroes of ante-bellum days. Of course, the tremendous revolution in economical and social affairs throughout the length of the coast, which clearly resulted from the gold discovery, is responsible for the false perspective in which our early history is viewed. The excitement beginning in 1848 and '49 was so intense, and the achievements of the years following were so wonderful, that earlier transactions sink, neglected, into the background.

Yet it was precisely the "day of small things" which preceded that made the era of grand things so easily possible. The colonization of Oregon gave to the United States an assured claim upon the valley of the Columbia, and led to the peaceful solution of the boundary question; it realized what twenty years earlier had been but the dream of a few enthusiasts, the American expansion to the Pa-

*A paper read at the Mechanics' Institute in San Francisco December 2, 1905, before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

cific; it provided a base for the long sought commercial contact with the Orient; and it rendered almost inevitable the ultimate acquisition by the United States of the ill-governed Mexican province to the south. When the crucial time came, the Oregon colony furnished, in part, the men and means for the conquest of California; from Oregon went the discoverer of gold and also the first outside party of American miners, who proved a valuable element in the struggle for order; Oregonians took a leading part in framing the California government, and an Oregon pioneer became the chief magistrate of the new Commonwealth.

I am not a believer in the necessity of a fixed order in historical development; and it is far from my purpose to declare that the possession of Oregon was absolutely essential to the acquisition of California. The truth is, rather, that both events were in the last analysis effects of a common cause, the seemingly irresistible westward tendency of the American population. This great cause, had it been directed somewhat differently, might, conceivably, have given us the two territories in reverse order. But such was not the historical fact and we are here concerned with history. Were speculation admissible at all it would be easy to show that an entirely different order of development would have occurred if gold had not been discovered in California, if the discovery had been delayed fifty, twenty-five, or even ten years, if the yellow flakes had been found in the streams of the Inland Empire before they appeared to the Mormon workmen in Marshall's historic mill race.

Confining ourselves to the strict order of historical evolution, we find the Oregon colony fully established in the Willamette Valley by the year 1845; we find in existence there an American government, based on the well known and oft tried American principle of compact—a govern-

ment almost identical in form with that of the ordinary State; and, while there was apparently nothing more than a sentimental connection with the United States, (somewhat like that subsisting between the typical Greek colony and the mother city,) it was well understood, both east and west of the mountains, that these sturdy colonists were holding Oregon subject to the extension of the national jurisdiction over that distant country. During the very time of the Bear Flag revolt in California, President Polk concluded the treaty with Great Britain establishing the Oregon boundary line; and two years later, before the news of the gold discovery had crossed the mountains, Congress erected the region west of the Rockies between the forty-second and the forty-ninth parallels into the Territory of Oregon.

The historical relation between Oregon and California, the mental attitude of the American people toward the two territories at the time, is well illustrated by the discussion over the Oregon bill in the spring of 1848. The measure had already been much too long delayed, and in order to delay it still further a member proposed to couple with it a bill for a California and a New Mexico territory also. The objection, hurled back sharp and quick, was that it would be wrong to yoke the "native born" Territory of Oregon with "territories scarce a month old and peopled by Mexicans and half-Indian Californians."

The people of the "Golden State" can afford to smile at this rhetorical exaggeration, for all it contains a measure of truth, because in two brief summers the relations of the sections were changed. And from that time to the present California has overshadowed the Northwest as completely as Oregon overshadowed her in the thought of the American people from the return of Lewis and Clark to the days of the "Forty-niners," and especially during the

last decade of that period when the work of colonization was going forward.

An event of such moment as the colonization of Oregon has been shown to be, is worthy of careful study by all who are interested in the history of the Pacific Slope; and in the hope of facilitating the study I wish to present a concise statement covering the most noteworthy phases of the colonizing movement, together with merely suggestive notes on the sources.

The background of the story includes, on the one hand, the series of incidents transpiring in the far west which culminated in the absolute commercial occupation of Oregon by the Hudson Bay Company; and on the other, the general features of westward expansion to the close of the fourth decade of last century. The settling up of the trans-Alleghany West; the spread of the pioneers along the lower Missouri; the extension of missionary effort beyond the frontier; the fur trade of still more distant regions—all these form a natural prelude to the great onward movement of population across the last and most formidable barrier separating the two seas.

The idea that an advance to the Pacific lay within the possible compass of American achievement was itself a matter of slow growth. Astor may possibly have held it in 1810 as Irving twenty-six years later declares that he did, but we have good reasons for doubting it. Jefferson's vision beheld the growth of a great community on the Pacific, planted by Americans and governed on American principles, yet wholly independent of the United States. Settlers, it was generally assumed, would be transported to Oregon by sea.

This was about the situation, so far as there is any record of men's views on the subject, until the time when John Floyd of Virginia precipitated the Oregon discussion in Congress in the years 1820 to 1823. Then there emerged

the new thought, though it was not yet asserted with much confidence, that the American people would at no distant time actually overspread the Rocky Mountains, as they had overspread the Alleghanies, and make the Pacific the western boundary of the United States. This idea was forced upon the sensitive mind of Mr. Floyd when he contemplated the startling growth of the United States since the achievement of their independence. It was fully shared by Francis Baylies of Massachusetts, whose remarkable words, uttered more than eighty years ago, have often been quoted as an example of a prophecy fulfilled. He is speaking to Floyd's bill for planting a colony at the mouth of the Columbia, and has alluded to the marvelous progress of the United States within the memories of living men. "Some now within these walls," he continues, "may, before they die, witness scenes more wonderful than these; and in after times may cherish delightful recollections of this day, when America, almost shrinking from the 'shadows of coming events' first set her feet upon untrodden ground, scarcely daring to anticipate the greatness which awaited her."

The object that these men sought was not to be attained by congressional action. Floyd's successive bills were met with indifference or derision on the part of a majority of the house; and, indeed, it was not till twenty years later, February, 1843, that an Oregon bill finally passed one branch of Congress. But the question of colonizing Oregon was not permitted to wait for its solution upon the slow and uncertain course of government action. It was to be settled in the natural American way, through an almost spontaneous movement on the part of the pioneering class.

By 1840 there were in Oregon a few score Americans, most of whom had entered the country since 1834 as missionaries. These had succeeded in effecting a lodgment

where American traders like Wyeth and Bonneville, had, for obvious reasons, failed. A few Rocky-Mountain trappers, of American birth, were likewise settled in the Willamette Valley. All, missionaries and mountaineers alike, were so largely dependent upon the Hudson Bay Company that they can in no just sense be regarded as an American colony. Their presence is to be looked upon rather as one of the things that stimulated the planting of a colony; for it created a living bond between Oregon and the United States, and led to the publication of the first considerable body of facts about Oregon that had been issued since the appearance of Lewis and Clark's journals.

A well known book derived from this source is Parker's "Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains," 1838. Many letters, sketches, and short articles bearing on Oregon came out in the missionary periodicals of the time. The most complete repository of such material is the file of the *Oregonian and Indian's Advocate*, a monthly magazine issued at Lynn, Massachusetts, from October, 1838, to August, 1839. The special aim of its editor was to gather up and disseminate information about Oregon. It was the organ of a philanthropic society which proposed to plant a large company of Christian people in Oregon, who should, in addition to exploiting the resources of the country, civilize the natives, and establish a new State in which Indians were to have all the political rights of white men. The file is very rare. A privately owned copy in Portland, Oregon, an incomplete copy in Oakland, California, and that of the Wisconsin Historical Society are the only ones known to me. But some of the more important documents contained in it, such as Linn's Senate Report on Oregon in 1838 and Cushing's House Report of 1839, are readily found in the government publications; while others, for example letters written from Ore-

gon, are gradually being reprinted in the QUARTERLY of the Oregon Historical Society.

The Linn and Cushing reports were for some years the most widely read works on Oregon (aside from Irving's Astoria) and were special favorites among the frontiersmen of Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, and other sections of the West. When the wagon companies began crossing the plains Linn's report and the Bible often formed the entire library of a migrating family; but the latter book, as well as the former, was sometimes missing from the collection.

As a result of all this new information concerning the Oregon Country, of the agitation re-begun in Congress by Doctor Linn in 1838, and of other causes the idea of colonizing Oregon was by 1840 firmly fixed in many minds. It was looked upon as the true method of solving the boundary dispute with Great Britain, whose theoretical claims were supported by nothing better than a commercial occupation of the country. In January, 1840, some citizens of Kentucky petitioned Congress to plant a colony at the mouth of the Columbia, (as Floyd had long before urged and as Linn was again urging,) and to protect it with a garrison; and also to open a road from western Missouri to Astoria, and plant at convenient distances across the mountains military posts for defense against the Indians.

The idea of opening a highway to Oregon was felt in government circles to be eminently practicable. It might be doubtful whether the United States could, under the treaty of joint occupation, maintain a military establishment at the mouth of the Columbia; but they could at least open a road into the trans-Rocky Mountain territory and thus facilitate the movement of pioneers thither, which would indirectly serve the same purpose. Beginning with the year 1841 this policy was advocated by a succession of war secretaries, whose arguments are con-

veniently summarized in House Documents, 29th Cong., 1st Sess. (1845), Vol. I: Repts. of Committees, Rept. No. 13.

The policy began to bear fruit at once, for in the spring of 1842 Fremont was commissioned to explore the best route as far as South Pass, though nothing was done about planting posts. At the same time the government yielded so far to the demands of Americans already settled in Oregon as to send out Dr. Elijah White, a returned missionary, as Indian sub-agent for that Territory. White was instructed to go to the Columbia overland, and to take with him as many prospective settlers as he could enlist along the frontier. He gathered a party of about one hundred and twenty, and made a successful journey, although they took their wagons only as far as Fort Hall. White's "Ten Years in Oregon" contains a reminiscent narrative of these events; while the journal of Medorem Crawford, printed by the Oregon Historical Society, is our exclusive primary source for the incidents of the journey.

The emigration of the following year, 1843, is the central fact in the colonizing movement. It resulted in the opening of the wagon road all the way to the Columbia, the planting of nearly a thousand American settlers in the Willamette Valley, the definite inauguration of an agricultural and commercial economy, and, above all, in the firm establishment of an American pioneer State on the Pacific. The coming of these emigrants in the fall of 1843 has always been looked upon by old Oregonians as the beginning of the distinctively American period in Pacific Coast history. As the coming of Winthrop's party of Puritans to Massachusetts Bay in 1630 largely determined the history of New England, so the arrival on the Columbia of Burnett's wagon train and Applegate's "Cow-Column" are events of fundamental significance in the history of the Pacific Northwest.

The sources for the study of this great emigration are now reasonably good and are constantly growing better. Their chief repository is the five volumes of the Oregon Historical Society, 1900 to 1904, inclusive (the sixth volume is now nearly complete), supplemented by the publications of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1873 to 1886.

Having elsewhere covered the narrative history of the movement with reasonable fulness,¹ I shall here simply indicate, for the convenience of students, the nature of the sources at our disposal.

First in order is a series of brief documents relating to the manner of raising the emigration. It will be recalled that some writers, most conspicuously Barrows, in his *History of Oregon*, credit Dr. Marcus Whitman with having raised this great company for Oregon. Whitman left his Walla Walla mission early in October and reached the frontier of Missouri late in the following January or early in February. Our contemporary sources show, among other things, that prospective emigrants were beginning to enroll their names with the emigration committees in western Missouri as early as September, 1842; that an association at St. Louis sent an emigration agent to Washington whose duty it was to watch the action of Congress, to keep the western people informed on the progress of the Linn bill for the organization of an Oregon territory and the granting of lands to settlers; to send out literature bearing on the Oregon question to the emigration committees scattered over the country from Pittsburg west; and lastly, to secure if possible from the Secretary of War the promise of a company of troops to escort the emigrants on the march.

The importance which western people attached to the passage of the Linn bill is illustrated by a number of

¹ A history of the Pacific Northwest, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1905; see, especially, chapters XI, XII, and XIII.

documents. These show how public meetings were held, especially in Ohio, for the purpose of urging Congress to pass the Linn bill. These meetings resulted in the famous Oregon Convention at Cincinnati in July, 1843, which virtually determined that plank of the 1844 Democratic platform summarized in the phrase "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," and incidentally had a marked effect upon emigration as well.

We have the minutes of several meetings held in Bloomington, Iowa Territory, whose object was to raise a local company of emigrants for Oregon; and we find that every detail of the preparation for the journey was carefully discussed in advance. The Platte (Missouri) *Eagle* notices editorially a lecture on Oregon delivered by Peter H. Burnett, and remarks that this gentleman is arousing great enthusiasm for the settlement of that most desirable country. The article concludes dramatically: "The American eagle is flapping his wings, the precursor of the end of the British lion on the shores of the Pacific. Destiny has willed it!"

For the organization of the company and the journey across the plains we have a number of distinct sources; but I shall notice only a few of the most important. So far as is known only one member of this party of nearly one thousand persons kept a diary which has been preserved. This was Peter H. Burnett, whose children, living in or near San Francisco, still possess the original document. It has never been printed entire; but we have a series of letters written by Burnett in the winter of 1843-44 to the New York *Herald*, and printed in part a year later, which are based upon the facts noted in his diary and upon recollections of the journey then still fresh in mind. The letters give an account of the trip as far as the Sweetwater. In Burnett's "Recollections and Opinions of an old Pioneer," New York, 1880, there is a brief account of the

entire journey to the Columbia, which is likewise based upon the diary, and is therefore a safe guide for all matters like dates, places, and distances.

The student should carefully avoid the pseudo-Burnett source printed in George Wilkes' so-called "History of Oregon," New York, 1845. This account of the 1843 emigration is based on the letters written by Burnett to the New York *Herald*; but Wilkes has worked over the material contained in the letters in his own peculiar way and with the deliberate purpose of deceiving his readers concerning the hardships of the western portion of the road. Detailed evidence to prove this charge has been given elsewhere. (See, especially, the *Portland Oregonian*, Sunday, November 1, 1903.)

The journal of Fremont's second expedition affords some material on the emigration, for Fremont saw much of the emigrants at certain points on the route. However, it is a subsidiary source. So are, also, though for a different reason, the interesting narratives by J. W. Nesmith and others printed in the Oregon Pioneer Association volume. These, while containing much valuable material, are usually in the form of reminiscences which must always be used with caution. One of them, however, Jesse Applegate's "A Day with the Cow-Column," is deserving of special notice as a peculiarly valuable source. In this paper, read before the Oregon Pioneer Association in 1877, Applegate, the preëminent literary genius of the 1843 emigration, gives an intimate and most delightful account of a typical day on the plains during the long, dreary, overland march. Dealing almost wholly with matters of a general character easily retained by the memory, the document may be followed with safety. And it is a literary gem, which, in my opinion, ought to have a place in every school reader of appropriate grade used in the Coast States. It was reprinted in the Oregon Trail

number of the *QUARTERLY*, December, 1900, together with Joaquin Miller's "Pilgrims of the Plains"; and it suffers not at all by comparison with that spirited production.

Another source for the emigration of 1843, and one of considerable importance, is Overton Johnson and William H. Winter's "Route Across the Rocky Mountains, with a Description of Oregon and California," Lafayette, Ind., 1846.

Many letters could be cited to show how the pioneers of 1843 took possession of the Oregon Country on their arrival; how they reorganized the Provisional government and made it adequate to the exigencies of the next six years; how they induced the Hudson Bay Company to recognize this government, and bring themselves and their property under its protection. The serious student will readily find these, and will be convinced that this emigration inaugurated the American era on the Pacific. Burnett speaks truly concerning its influence upon the disputed question of the northern boundary when he says: "We knew to a moral certainty that the moment we brought our families, cattle, teams, and loaded wagons to the banks of the Columbia River in the fall of 1843, the question was practically decided in our favor."

JOSEPH SCHAFFER.

MERIWETHER LEWIS.*

Lewis Day of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition is a proper occasion for a review of the leading events in the life of Meriwether Lewis. The only authentic account of his early life and genealogy is contained in the memoirs of Thomas Jefferson. We learn more of the man from the Journals of Lewis and Clark's Expedition than from any other source. It is a marvelous fact that the records of this expedition have never been fully published. There is now an edition in the course of preparation as the explorers wrote them.

Meriwether Lewis was born on the 18th day of August, 1774, near the town of Charlottesville, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia. John Lewis, one of his great-uncles, was a member of the king's council before the Revolution; and Fielding Lewis, another great-uncle, married a sister of George Washington. Colonel Robert Lewis, his grandfather, had five sons, of whom William, the youngest, was the father of Meriwether and Reuben. Charles Lewis, an uncle, was colonel of a Virginia regiment; he died early in the Revolution. Nicholas Lewis, an uncle, commanded a regiment of militia in 1776 against the Cherokee Indians. This member of the Lewis family was endeared to all who knew him for probity, courteous disposition, and modesty of manners. After William Lewis's death, Nicholas Lewis was appointed guardian of Meriwether and Reuben. The mother married John Marks, and from this marriage there were two children, John Marks and Mary Garland Marks. Reuben Lewis

*Address on August 12, 1905, Lewis Day at the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair.

is mentioned in connection with the Missouri Fur Company at St. Louis in 1809, and in the Mandan towns in the fur trade in 1811. There are no descendants of either Meriwether or Reuben Lewis.

Of the early life of Meriwether Lewis it is said that at the age of eight years he often went out in the middle of the night, into the forests, with his dogs, to hunt the raccoon and opossum. At thirteen he was sent to a Latin school and continued there for five years. At eighteen he returned home, and for two years had the charge of his mother's farm. At twenty he was a volunteer in the militia, and took part against the discontent produced by the excise taxes in the western part of the United States. Through the influence of Jefferson, he was transferred to the regular army and commissioned a lieutenant in the line, and afterwards was appointed paymaster of his regiment.

Jefferson had long desired knowledge of the West; he proposed to the American Philosophical Society in 1792, the year of the discovery of the Columbia River, to raise money for an expedition to ascend the Missouri, cross the Stony Mountains, and descend the nearest river to the Pacific Ocean. Meriwether Lewis applied at the time to make the journey.

When Jefferson was inaugurated President the young lieutenant became his secretary; he was commissioned captain in the regular army April 15, 1802.

Lewis assisted the President with his confidential message to Congress of January 18, 1803. In this message the President proposed to send an exploring expedition up the Missouri River, cross the high lands and follow the best water courses to the Pacific Ocean.

The President says of Lewis: "I now had an opportunity of knowing him intimately; of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which

“nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, “yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; “habituated to the hunting life; guarded by exact observation of vegetables and animals of his own country against “losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest; disinterested; liberal; of sound understanding, and with a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that “whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen “by ourselves; with all these qualities as if selected and “implanted by Nature in one body for this special purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the expedition to him.”

Captain Lewis selected for his assistant, William Clark, of Louisville, Kentucky, brother of General George Rogers Clark. This selection was approved, and Clark was commissioned as captain in the regular army, and assigned second in command of the expedition.

On the 20th of June, 1803, the President signed “Instructions to Meriwether Lewis, Esquire, Captain of the “First Regiment of Infantry of the United States of “America.” The instructions show that the President at this time had no knowledge of the source of the Missouri, the Columbia, and the Colorado rivers, or of the mountains, or of the country beyond.

On the 1st day of July there came from Paris that astonishing news that the commissioners had purchased the whole of Louisiana. This did not change the plans or the instructions of the President. It rather hastened the expedition than otherwise. Lewis had intended visiting his mother before starting. He wrote her on the 3d of July, “Day after to-morrow I shall set out for the western country. I had calculated on the pleasure of visiting you, but circumstances have rendered it impossible.”

On the 5th he left Washington for Pittsburg, where he began selecting supplies, men, and boats. These were gathered up from Pittsburg, all along the line down the Ohio, until they reached St. Louis in the following December. Clark joined the expedition at Louisville and took charge,—Lewis going overland by way of Vincennes. The expedition intended to winter at the highest settlement on the Missouri, but the Spanish commandant would not permit them to pass through the country, so the expedition went into camp at the mouth of the Wood River, on the east side of the Mississippi in Illinois.

On the 9th day of March, 1804, the first step in the ceremony of transferring Upper Louisiana to the United States occurred. On that day the Spanish flag was lowered, and the French tricolor raised in its place. The old French residents begged that their flag might float over Louisiana until the next day. On the following day the flag of France was lowered and the flag of the United States took its place. Lewis was a witness to the last act which finally and forever terminated the authority of Spain and France to Louisiana. This was an inspiring event for an expedition soon to start for the unknown land beyond the Rocky Mountains.

On the 14th of May, 1804, the expedition left the mouth of Wood River and started up the Missouri. They met fur traders coming down the river. They began to note in the Journal the important rivers, streams, islands, and to give an account of the Indian tribes. During the spring and summer they labored up the Missouri against the turbulent river current, without incident, except a council held with the Indians, and the death and burial of Sergeant Floyd. They encountered Hudson Bay men, who regretted to see the flag of the United States west of the Mississippi River. They proceeded on and entered a country of the Sioux, where they met with the first hostile demonstration.

A show of force, and the tact and skill of Lewis and Clark, soon commanded the Indians' respect. The two captains were afterwards carried in a buffalo robe by their young men, dressed for the occasion, to the Council House, and were feasted on dog and buffalo meat. Lewis, in the description of the Sioux, mentions their shaved heads, scalp locks, painted faces, the noise of the drums, scalp dance, buffalo robes adorned with porcupine quills, and buffaloeskin lodges. They next found a tribe who refused whisky. From here they entered the Mandan country, near Bismarck, North Dakota, where they spent the winter.

They built two rows of log huts protected by a stockade, the roofs of which were thatched with grass and clay. Here they engaged Charboneau and Sacajawea to accompany them. Sacajawea was a Shoshone Indian, who was captured by the Minnetarees near the head of the Missouri, and sold by them to Charboneau, who made her his wife. Lewis believed she would be of great service to the expedition when they arrived in the Shoshone country.

On April 7, 1805, the soldiers sent as an escort started back. The expedition, consisting of thirty-two persons, again started up the Missouri. Lewis says: "I esteem this moment of our departure as among the most happy of my life."

On April 25, Lewis, with four men, found the river known as the La Roche Jaune. He named it the Yellowstone. On the 26th, from the summit of some high hills, Lewis saw for the first time the Rocky Mountains.

On the 2d day of June they reached a point of great importance, two rivers, one from the north, and one from the southwest. Lewis wrote, "On our right decision much of the fate of the expedition depends; since, if after ascending the Rocky Mountains, or beyond them, we should find that the river we were following did not come near the Columbia, and be obliged to return, we should

“not only lose the traveling season, but probably dishearten the men.” The river from the north Lewis named Maria’s River, in honor of his cousin, Maria Wood.

On proceeding up the river Clark took charge of the boats, and Lewis, with four men, went by land. On the 13th he heard the sounds of the Great Falls seven miles away. Lewis’s description of the falls of Missouri is accurate, and is considered at this time a fine description. Lewis was filled with admiration of Nature at the falls. He was impressed with the grandeur of the scenery, the magnitude of the falls, the great herds of buffalo, and the great number of grizzly bears. Nowhere in the Journal is shown his power of description to better advantage.

In the distance of ten miles from the first to the last fall, the total descent of the river is $412\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The portage around the rapids was eighteen miles. The clearing of the long path was one of the many examples of hard work done by the explorers. They were about twelve days making the portage. Here they made light canoes to continue their voyage beyond the falls. They passed through a canyon they named “The Gates of the Rocky Mountains,” and on to the head of the Missouri, where they found three rivers, as Sacajawea had described them; Lewis named them the Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin. They proceeded up the Jefferson, and on the 30th of July arrived at a place Sacajawea pointed out, where, five years before she was captured by the Minnetarees. They were nearing the summit of the mountains, water transportation would soon end, and with it possibly the further progress of the expedition. Lewis took Drewyer, (Drouillard), Shields, and McNeal, and left Clark and the party not to return until he found the Shoshone Indians.

On the morning of the 12th day of August, 1805, they found an Indian road along the banks of a stream which gradually became smaller, until one of the men, with one

foot on each side of the river, "Thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri." They crossed the Divide, from the waters of the Missouri to the waters that flow into the Columbia, where they camped and ate their last piece of pork. ONE HUNDRED years ago to-day Lewis, Drewyer, and McNeal were the first white men to cross the Rocky Mountains, within the boundary lines of the United States, to the Pacific Slope.

Soon after leaving camp, on the 13th, they saw two women and a man and some dogs at a distance, who fled at their approach. They continued a little farther when they suddenly came upon three females, one of them, a young Indian, ran away; the others, an old woman and a little girl, held down their heads expecting death. Lewis put down his gun and went up to them, took the woman's hand and raised her up repeating the words, "Taba Bone," meaning *white men*, at the same time showing her his bare arm. Drewyer and Shields coming up, Lewis asked Drewyer to request the old woman to recall her companion, which she did. Lewis gave her some beads, a few awls, and a pewter mirror; and then painted the cheeks of the three women vermillion. They proceeded down the road to the Indian camp. They soon met sixty warriors riding at full speed. Lewis put down his gun and with the United States flag flying advanced fifty paces with the Indian woman, when the chief spoke to them and the woman informed him that the party were white men. The chief leaped from his horse and embraced Lewis with great cordiality, applying his left cheek to Lewis's and frequently saying, "Ah-hi-e," meaning "I am much pleased." The whole body came forward, and the men received the embraces of the warriors in the same manner.

Lewis obtained men and horses to go back after the rest of the party. The next four days form an interesting story of his efforts in the management of the Shoshone

Indians. They were like a flock of quail, ready to fly at the appearance of evil. On their way back the whole party was stampeded, and Lewis carried along on his horse with the rest for a mile before they learned that the Indian who was running toward them desired to inform them that one of the white men had killed a deer. They soon found Clark and the rest of the party with the canoes. The meeting between Sacajawea and her people was very touching; the chief who accompanied Lewis was her brother.

From Shoshone Cove to Canoe Camp at the mouth of Clearwater was traveled with horses as pack animals, over the wildest and roughest part of the United States. They left Canoe Camp October 7, and on the 18th started down the Columbia River. Their trip was one continuous ovation with the Indian tribes from Canoe Camp to the Great Falls of the Columbia. Lewis gives an interesting description of the horse of the great plains; he ends by saying, "They resemble in fleetness and bottom, as well as in form and color, the best blooded horses of Virginia."

On November 7, 1805, the expedition reached the ocean and went into winter quarters at Fort Clatsop on the south side of the Columbia, not far from the city of Astoria.

On the 23d of March, 1806, they left Fort Clatsop. Their supplies and trinkets, excepting the salt and ammunition, could have been wrapped in two handkerchiefs. On their way back they discovered the Multnomah River, now called the Willamette. Clark ascended this river twelve miles to the city of Portland. The explorers estimated that this country bordering on the Columbia was capable of supporting fifty thousand inhabitants.

When the expedition reached the head of the Missoula at Three Rivers, the party divided, Clark going south with Sacajawea as the guide, and descended the Yellowstone River; and Lewis with his party proceeded to the

Great Falls, where he left with four men to explore the Maria's River. On this trip Lewis met a party of roving Minnetarees near the north boundary line of Montana. They camped together, the Indians undertook to steal their guns and horses, a fight ensued; Fields killed one Indian with a knife, and Lewis killed another with his revolver. They recovered their guns and lost one horse, but captured four of the Indian horses in exchange. Lewis, fearing more trouble, started towards the Missouri and made one hundred and twenty miles in the remarkable time of thirty-six hours. Soon after this experience Lewis was taken for an elk by one of his men, and shot through the thigh.

After this incident the party proceeded down the river to the mouth of the Yellowstone, where they found a note from Clark, who had passed down some time before. A few miles below the Yellowstone the party was united and proceeded down the river to the Mandan country, where they parted with Charboneau and Sacajawea, and continued on their way and arrived at St. Louis on the 23d of September, 1806.

The actual travel by land and water was 8,270 miles, not counting the side trips, very nearly one third of the distance around the world. Their route was mostly through an unknown land. None but Indians had ascended the Missouri as far as the Great Falls. No white man had ever crossed the Rocky Mountains within the boundary lines of the United States. None had ascended the Columbia River to the head of tide water. The duration of the expedition was two years and four months. The story of their adventure stands alone, as the most successful and important ever accomplished; they joined the highlands and the Oregon to the Louisiana Purchase.

On their return to Washington they were received with tears of joy by the President and were warmly welcomed

by Congress; they received the applause and gratitude of the people of the United States. The two leaders were voted double pay, and were each granted a large tract of land.

Lewis was nominated governor of Louisiana February 28, 1807, confirmed by Congress March 12, and resigned from the army the same day, was commissioned March 3, and entered upon his new duties at St. Louis the following July, succeeding Governor James Wilkinson.

Governor Lewis found the country divided into factions, and general discontent prevailed within the district. He refused to take part in any of the factional controversies, and was able to bring about order and good will among the people. One of his important acts as Governor was his proclamation establishing the Territory of Arkansas. In August, 1808, Governor Lewis held an important council with the Sacs, Fox, and Iowa Indians; the first post office was established in 1808, and the first book, consisting of the laws of Louisiana, was published during his incumbency.

Before Lewis left St. Louis on his last journey, on the 19th of August, 1809, he appointed his three most intimate friends his lawful attorney, viz., William Clark, Alexander Stewart, and William C. Carr. Some trouble having arisen over his accounts and with a view of editing the Journals, he left St. Louis in the latter part of August for Washington. He proceeded to Chickasaw Bluffs, now the site of the city of Memphis, Tennessee, where he arrived the 16th day of September, 1809. Jefferson says, "While "he lived with me at Washington I observed at times "sensible depressions of mind, he was in a paroxysm of "one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for "him to go to Washington. Mr. Neely, agent of the "United States with the Chickasaw Indians, arrived at "Chickasaw Bluffs two days afterwards, and found Gov-

“ernor Lewis extremely indisposed, and he betrayed at
“times considerable derangement of mind. Mr. Neely
“kindly determined to accompany him and watch over
“him. At their encampment, one day’s journey beyond
“the Tennessee River, they lost two horses, which obliged
“Mr. Neely to halt for their recovery. Governor Lewis
“proceeded under a promise to wait for him at the house
“of the first white inhabitant on the road. He stopped
“at the house of Mr. Grinder, who was not at home. His
“wife, alarmed at the symptoms of derangement, gave him
“up the house and retired to an outhouse. About three
“o’clock in the night he did the deed which plunged his
“friends into affliction.” Jefferson concludes, “I have only
“to add that all the facts I have stated are either known
“to myself, or were communicated to me by his family or
“others, for whose truth I have no hesitation in making
“myself responsible.”

The mother of Meriwether Lewis in 1820, stated that her son’s letters before starting on his homeward journey were full of love and affection. She never believed that her son committed suicide. She firmly believed that he was murdered by his Spanish servant. One of the family said that after thirty years this servant sent a trunk of papers to Mary Garland Marks, in which one was a will of Governor Lewis devising his land in St. Louis to her. That she afterwards compromised her claim for the sum of \$6,000. Another relative recognized a gold watch of Meriwether Lewis’s in the hands of a man on the Mississippi, and secured it, and supposed at the time that the man was Lewis’s Spanish servant.

The report of the Lewis Monument Committee of Tennessee says that it seems to be more probable that Governor Lewis died at the hands of an assassin than that he committed suicide. James D. Park, a lawyer of Franklin, Tennessee, says that the firm belief of the people of that

part of the country is that Governor Lewis was murdered and robbed. The story of Polly Spencer, a hired girl in the Grinder family, is that Lewis was killed soon after supper, and that the only servant he had was a negro boy. Grinder was part Indian, and was suspected of the murder of Lewis. He soon moved to the western part of Tennessee, where he purchased slaves and a farm, and had plenty of money. There were other strange and mysterious disappearances of rich travelers in this locality, and it was believed by the people that Grinder had murdered them. It seems strange that there is no account of Lewis's death by Mr. Neely, the Indian agent; that there is no testimony or statement of the negro boy, or the Spanish servant. Jefferson had no hesitation in saying that Governor Lewis did the deed that plunged his friends in affliction. Yet subsequent development of facts not probably known to Jefferson point strongly to murder and robbery.

The State of Tennessee, where Lewis is buried, created Lewis County out of other counties, and in 1848 erected a monument to his memory. It is twenty-one and one half feet high, with a broken column two and one half feet in diameter upon a square, pyramidal base with hewn steps. Under this monument rest the mortal remains of Meriwether Lewis.

On the west plinth is the following inscription:

MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Born near Charlottesville, Va., August 18, 1774.
Died October 11, 1809.
Age 35 years.

Mr. Park says of Lewis's monument: "FAR OUT IN THE NATIVE FOREST ON THE HIGHLANDS, WITH NO HUMAN DWELLING NEAR, IT IS INDEED A LONELY SPOT, WHERE THE WILD DEER AND THE FOX ARE STILL PURSUED BY THE HUNTER'S HOUNDS."

ANDREW T. LEWIS.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

Plasticity is the one great advantage of youth. We in the Far West naturally wish to excuse what is crude and primitive in our institutional development as due to our youth. If our most distinctive characteristic is youth, and therefore plasticity, we are warranted in placing a strong emphasis on plans and ideals. Our institutional organization should be designed under the best light and for the broadest and highest service before social habits with us and the forms and centers of social activity become fixed and virtually unchangeable.

The assumption of the youth and plasticity of the social development of Oregon, with respect particularly to the organization to be given to its State Historical Society for social service, is one element in the position taken in this paper. The other element in the position assumed is, that in the present stage of development of the social sciences and the exigent need of light for the application of scientific methods in social administration, the work of a State historical society normally comes into active, intimate, and manifold connections with the life of the commonwealth.

I wish to submit to your judgment the lines of work and the active relations which this society should propose to itself. To do this to any purpose I must by way of preface give some account of the conditions under which the Society was originally organized and the influences that have controlled its development. This will serve to

*A paper read before the Historical Congress held in connection with the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition.

explain some rather anomalous features that you see in it, and will indicate the conditions under which it lives and must work out its development. Institutions, like plants and animals, must develop their strength out of the elements of the environment which is their habitat. After we have before us the salient factors in the situation under which this Society has lived and developed its restricted activities, and appreciating the exigent needs of skilfully classified data covering all subjects, if public interests rapidly growing in magnitude and complexity are to be conserved, a program of more effective activity and larger usefulness for this society can be outlined.

The spirit of a historical society is necessarily strongly affected by what was unique in the discovery and exploration of the land that is its home and in the origin of the people whose interests it conserves. There was a large measure of the heroic in the founding of the Oregon community and a large degree of autonomy exercised in its early history. Historical literature makes use of the expression "the Oregon Country." The discovery of the Columbia with its empire by Captain Gray, the exploration of this section of the continent by Lewis and Clark, the initiative in the exploitation of this other side of the continent by the enterprise of Astor, the extension of the operations of the American fur traders across the continent, the on-coming and the organization of the home-building pioneers on this western slope—all taking place before the home government had secured sovereignty over this imperial region—each and all of these achievements kindle historical sentiment and arouse an historical consciousness among the later generations making their home here. What was more natural than that as these deeds became hallowed with time the surviving actors in great drama and their sons and daughters should associate themselves that they might the better live over again a

glorious past and celebrate a great heritage? Pioneer organizations sprang up, and in the course of a quarter of a century developed a strong consciousness of a heroic epoch, with experiences connected with a great migration and life on a far-flung frontier. Then, too, the Oregon question in our national history, which may be said to date from Thomas Jefferson's letter to George Rogers Clark in 1783 to the settlement of the Northwest boundary in 1846, added to this nucleus of a distinct Oregon sentiment. All this made Oregon good soil for organizations of an historical character. Among the more important to originate were the Oregon Pioneer Association, which was organized in 1873 at Butteville (an intermediate point between old French Prairie and Champoege on one side and old Willamette Falls on the other), and the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society founded at Astoria. The latter has not been active in recent years. The former continues its existence, but makes its life purpose consist more and more in the maintenance of a cult of the pioneers rather than in a systematically planned conservation of historical sources and stimulation of historical activities. This restricted interest and function of these pioneer organizations was natural and probably fortunate.

There was with them a hallowed regard for pioneer recollections and pioneer relics as tokens of a heroic past. Events more nearly contemporary suffered in comparison and seemed mean and commonplace. Records of achievements, great or small, that did not hark back over a period of forty or fifty years were counted things of little worth. History in their view had about all been made and the evidence for it was to be found mainly in the memories of its makers. Appreciation of the higher authenticity of the contemporary record was woefully weak. At least no adequate provision was made by these pioneer associations

for the systematic collection and preservation of such contemporary records.

The capital ready at hand, therefore, when this Society was organized nearly seven years ago, was the existence here of historical sentiment from an appreciation of the heroic in the beginnings of Oregon. This the annual meetings of the pioneer associations had brought strongly into the community consciousness. The main idea added when this Society had its origin was that of an appreciation of the higher authenticity of the contemporary record in all its various forms and a sense of the urgency of an immediate and thorough canvass for them and the printing of the most important in a form absolutely faithful to the original. This idea had been acted upon some two or three years in the then Department of History and Economics of the State University by which coöperation in Portland was awakened which resulted in the founding of this Society.

The two main assets for a historical society in Oregon, then, were a well-founded pride in a heroic past and the idea of the value of contemporary records with full appreciation of the urgency of an immediate canvass for them that they might be collected and preserved. Alongside these two advantages in the situation for the society there must, however, be mentioned a stubborn disadvantage in the form of a strong individualistic or *laissez faire* attitude among our people discountenancing State support for activities of the nature of those of a historical society. The warm feeling for the pioneers and for the preservation of pioneer relics and records was, however, strong enough to overcome opposition to State support for an organization engaged in this line of activity.

Such were the ideas and sentiments embodied in this society at its origin, and such were and are the elements in the Oregon environment in which this society must

develop its strength. Dependence on membership fees, large in number, and on State appropriations made it absolutely necessary to place emphasis upon the collection and display of relics and other tokens of pioneer life. It was, however, with genuine appreciation that we sought these tokens through which to idolize the pioneers. Still the society during the six and one half years of its existence has striven assiduously and insidiously to extend its activities so that it might much more nearly accomplish the work of a full-fledged State historical society. An uncatalogued library and unindexed collections betray how closely we are still bound in our swaddling clothes.

We are in position now to consider the aims and ideals which should shape the future of the society. The condition of the field for a historical society as to the presence of rivals is an important matter, bearing upon what should advisedly be undertaken in the future. There was nothing in the nature of historical activity at our State capital. The nucleus or germinal activity at the State University, from which the society was an outgrowth, was merged into this organization by making the then professor of history the secretary of the society. The main pioneer association was also placed in satisfactory relation to the society by employing its secretary as the assistant secretary of the historical society. The rooms and the main body of the collections of the society are at Portland—the principal center of population in the State and the home of the great body of the active and influential membership of the society. Alongside these elements of advantage in the location of the society must be noted the fact that Portland is not the capital, nor is it the home of the State University. A State historical society ideally constituted for larger and higher service contemplates the coöperation of appropriate agencies at each of these points, the State capital, the State University, and the center of population. But separation

in space is a drawback of constantly diminishing importance in library activity. The main problem then with the Oregon Historical Society is to determine and to define the functions that normally fall to a historical society and State library in a fully developed and well regulated commonwealth organization, and then to secure the means to fulfil such functions. The question, then, is what are a commonwealth's main interests in the development of home activities in historical investigations? Or, in other words, for what services in the life of a commonwealth are historical activities indispensable?

If the contributions of a commonwealth or section to the national life are to be fully recognized accredited records must be preserved, made available, and the annals of the commonwealth brought into relation with the main trends of national development. To the activity of the historical societies of the Middle West is to be mainly attributed the larger place the growth of the West has in our National Story. As historical activity in the Pacific Northwest gets the sources of the history of this section into the hands of the historical scholars the things done on the Lewis and Clark and the Oregon trails and in the development of the institutions of civilization here, will figure more largely in future histories than they have in those of the past. A people is neither true to itself nor true to truth as a whole unless it conserves the sources of its history.

But there is no such thing as perceiving the significance of the facts of local history except through an understanding of the history of the nation and of the world. So organic is the unity of history. To seize upon the really significant in local history and preserve it, the workers in it must be possessed of a comprehensive scholarship, and there must be available library facilities through which to apply the power of perceiving the wider and deeper

relations. That a commonwealth may really gain large results from an efficient corps of workers in history, there must not only be a library equipped to meet the needs of research, but there must also be such organization of those using the materials of history that the advantage of association in suggestion, in stimulation, and in emulation may be secured. A State historical society as the center of State historical activities must, therefore, be provided with a library of research, and must maintain meetings from which the largest benefits of association are derived.

That largest source of historical records, the legislative and administrative archives of the commonwealth, comes in for special care from a State historical society. This large mass of material should be given the form that will make it most serviceable for the purposes for which it was created. State publications need the supervision of the best historical acumen that they may tell most effectively all that should be recorded. The archives for the past are generally so bad, so defective, and so lacking that rehabilitation and reprinting are necessary. An important and essential part of the operations of a State historical society will have to do with these archives. This responsibility for the supervision of the archives of the State seems to be represented by quite a movement among the State historical societies of the South.

In identifying historic sites and stimulating local communities to mark them and beautify them a historical society is performing an important service in rendering more hallowed, richer in association and more stimulating to the imagination the land upon which a people dwells.

A still more intimate relation to the life of a commonwealth seems, in this scientific and dynamic age, to belong to the state historical society. That a State may understand accurately and closely and handle skilfully and scientifically its problems of progress a state historical

society must keep filed and indexed for readiest use data giving forms and results of experience at home and the world over in all lines of its development. This it must do that the commonwealth may have and utilize the best light in dealing with its own affairs. The files of the Oregon Historical Society should have that order, completeness, and up-to-dateness which would afford a sufficing guidance for legislative and administrative work of the State.

The fully equipped Oregon Historical Society—one meeting the needs of the commonwealth—will thus have in best working order a library of research into all lines of world activities which touch the life of Oregon. It will be the center of association and discussion on the part of the students of these commonwealth, national, and world problems. It will have supervision of the archives of the State and serve as the reference library and librarian for the legislative and administrative activities for the commonwealth as a whole and for any of its local organizations or communities. It will also deepen that historical sentiment through which the land becomes hallowed for the heart and rich for the imagination. This program for the Oregon Historical Society of wide and active relations to the life of the Oregon commonwealth is urged on three fundamental grounds. It is in harmony with the widest and highest application of the principle of coöperation among the agencies for the promotion of the higher life interests of Oregon; it would bring into largest and most effective play scientific methods and principles for the shaping of the future of Oregon, and would at the same time result in the best selection of data for future history and provide for the highest utilization of them from day to day. And, lastly, the Oregon Historical Society, from its nature as a historical society in relation to the methods of progress in this scientific age and its position among the institutions of the commonwealth, is best intrusted with this function of mentor in the commonwealth life of Oregon.

F. G. YOUNG.

WASHINGTON ACTIVITIES IN HISTORY.*

The early history of "Old Oregon" is that of Washington until the latter separated from the parent Territory. The history of the voyages of discovery along the ocean coast, the explorations across the continent, the trapping and trading ventures of American and foreign companies, the grand and heroic work of the early missionaries and the pioneers of the great Northwest, is the common heritage of the sister States on opposite sides of the mighty Columbia.

Prior to the separation in 1853, good newspapers had been established in Olympia, the capital of Washington, and at no time since has the country west of the Cascade Mountains been without one or more of them.

Our early history was thus gathered week by week, in the most painstaking way by the men who wrote the matter for those early journals, and printed it.

Of course the official records of the Territory, its counties and municipalities, have been preserved, and they have suffered but little loss by fire or the ravages of time.

To these two sources must we apply for most of the materials for the history of Washington, that still remains to be written. There have been many more or less pretentious efforts in this direction, but as they were prepared more with an eye to pecuniary results than for the preservation or presentation of our history, they have but little historic value.

Many of the early-day men here, of literary tastes, pre-

*Reported to the Historical Congress, Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, August 21-23, 1905.

pared manuscripts of more or less historical value, but most of these were gathered up by the publisher of a voluminous history of the Pacific states and territories that emanated from San Francisco in the early eighties, and have thus been lost to us until the possessor of the collection shall have sold it to those who will throw it open to the searchers and writers of history.

Elwood Evans and James G. Swan were the historians of Washington's early days. They came here about the time of our territorial organization, and remained in active life until after the transition to statehood. Both were liberally educated and of literary tastes. They were trained observers and careful writers, and the commonwealth is the loser because they did not give wider range to their historical work. Much of Swan's writings appeared under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute of Washington City, a sufficient guaranty of their accuracy, while most of Evans' work appeared in the newspapers and in publications where the identity of the writer was not disclosed. He was a lawyer by profession, and a politician as well, whose predilections and prejudices were equally pronounced. His mind was that of the advocate rather than the judge. In all the controversies connected with the Indian war, the claims of the missions and the Hudson Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies, the adjustment of our northern boundaries, and varied public questions of nearly forty years, he took an active part as counsel in the courts or as a partisan in the newspapers. For this reason, due caution should be taken in accepting his published views on those questions.

In the early days of the Territory he devoted much painstaking effort to the collection, writing, and rewriting of pioneer history. He knew almost every man of note in the Northwest, and he was endowed with a happy fac-

ulty of eliciting facts concerning our early social, material, and political history. He also gathered almost complete files of the early local newspapers and publications, which later mostly came into my possession, while most of his manuscripts went to Bancroft in California. That he failed to present a complete history of pioneer times in Washington was a loss that can never be made good. His mantle fell upon no worthy successor.

At the Tacoma Hotel, July 2, 1891, pursuant to a call from Charles W. Hobart, a public meeting was held to organize a State historical society. Little was done beyond discussion as to ways and means. October 8 of the same year an organization was effected, the following becoming the charter members of the "Washington State Historical Society," viz., Elwood Evans, Edward Huggins, James Wickersham, L. P. Bradley, Henry Bucey, John Flett, J. N. Houghton, Edward N. Fuller, Charles W. Hobart, Philo G. Hubbell, and Miss Nannie Wickersham, of Pierce County; Edward Eldredge, Henry Roeder, S. Caldwell, of Whatcom County; Clarence B. Bagley, J. B. Houghton, of King County; T. I. McKenney, C. M. Barton, Allen Weir, R. H. Lansdale, of Thurston County; W. P. Gray, of Franklin County; Thomas J. Smith, of Whitman County.

A constitution and by-laws were adopted, and Elwood Evans unanimously chosen president, where he was retained for five years.

The most notable work of the Society was that of celebrating, on May 7 and 8, 1892, the hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Gray's Harbor, one of the most momentous events of our early history. The celebration was largely attended by citizens of Oregon and Washington; its proceedings were given at length in the leading journals of the coast, and later were issued in pamphlet form

by the Society. The gathering was on Gray's Harbor, as near as possible to the place of original discovery.

Beginning September, 1899, a quarterly, with the title, *The Washington Historian*, was published by the Society and continued for two years. Thus was preserved interesting, varied, and important matter that future historians will find invaluable. It is a matter of sincere regret that it did not receive the support it deserved that it might have continued its career of usefulness down to the present.

The Society had to depend upon funds raised by private subscription, and the long period of financial depression that soon followed its birth left it without means to carry on its work with any degree of effectiveness, especially in the gathering of original matter. For years it has had a pleasant home in rooms provided for it in the City Hall, and the publishers of the State have been liberal in their contributions of regular and transient newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, so that it has a valuable collection in this line.

During the last two sessions of the state legislature friends of the Society presented strong arguments for granting aid to the Society from the public treasury, and two years ago \$3,000 were included in the appropriation bill for that purpose, but that clause was vetoed by the executive; last session \$2,000 were set apart for the same purpose, but have since been diverted to other uses.

Most of its first members have died or moved from the State, and of late years it had little more than a nominal existence. This fact led to the organization of a society of the same kind in Seattle, about three years ago, where considerable interest is taken by a large number of ladies and gentlemen of literary tastes in the history of the State. This later body took the name of "The Washington State University Historical Society." While several

of its members have done a large amount, individually, of historical work, as a body the Society has accomplished little outside of erecting several monuments. Four of these have been put up under its auspices, but the credit of securing the funds for their construction and erection belongs almost solely to Prof. E. S. Meany, who occupies the historical chair at the State University, and is also secretary of the historical society. He devotes his vacations and time not taken up in educational work to traveling all over the Northwest, and securing by means of pen and camera an immense amount of original material, particularly regarding the Indians of the Columbia basin, of Puget Sound, and along the rugged shores of the Pacific from Shoalwater Bay to Fuca Straits.

The first monument was set up at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, on the spot where Vancouver and Quadra met in August, 1792, to negotiate or carry out some of the details of the treaty of October 28, 1790, between Spain and Great Britain.

The second occasion was in October, 1904, when two monuments were erected on San Juan Island to mark the places of the military camps during the period of joint occupation, prior to the award of that archipelago to the United States.

At Nespelum, in Okanogan County, this State, June 20, 1905, a fourth memorial tablet was set up to mark the last resting place of the famous Indian warrior, Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés.

Efforts are now making for the union of the two societies, with rooms at the State University. If this good work shall be accomplished the new body will undoubtedly be able to obtain substantial recognition from the state legislature, so that with the aid of the professors of the university and the students coming from all parts of the

State much original material of great value can be gathered. There is already in the library of that institution a large collection of books, pamphlets, and papers devoted to the history of the Northwest, and if to this shall be added those belonging to the two societies a valuable historical nucleus will be the result

CLARENCE B. BAGLEY.

SKETCH OF A SECOND JOURNEY TO THE NORTHWESTERN PARTS OF THE CON- TINENT OF NORTH AMERICA AND TO SANDWICH ISLANDS

DURING THE YEARS 1829-'30-'31-'32-'33-'34.

By DAVID DOUGLAS, F. L. S.

VI.

Mr. Douglas Voyage from the Columbia to the Sandwich Islands, and the Ascent of Mouna Roa.*

I sailed from the Columbia in November last, in the Hudson Bay Company's vessel, which visited these islands, touching on the way at San Francisco, where I made a short stay, but did nothing in the way of Botany. I arrived here on the 23rd of December, and, after spending Christmas Day with two English ladies, the wife of our Consul, Mr. Charlton, and her sister, I started on the 27th for the island of Hawaii, which I reached on the 2nd of January, 1834. You know I have long had this tour in contemplation, and having spent three winter months in botanizing here, I proceed to give you a short notice of my proceedings.

The view of this most interesting island, from the sea, is sublime indeed: combining the grand, sweet and beautiful, in a most remarkable degree. For two thousand five hundred feet above the level of the sea, the *Banana*, *Sugar Cane*, *Coffee*, *Pandanus*, *Bread Fruit*, etc., grow in the greatest perfection. Then comes a thickly timbered country as high as eight thousand feet, and for three thousand seven hundred feet more a space covered with short verdure, after which the reign of Flora terminates. I made a journey to the summit of Mouna Kuah, which occupied fourteen days, and found it only thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-one English feet above the sea; a height, you may observe, much less than has been ascribed to this mountain by early travellers. In this expedition I amassed a most splendid collection of plants, principally Ferns and Mosses; many, I do assure you,

* Continuation of his letter from Woahoo, Sandwich Islands, May 6, 1834, a fragment of his journal, and documents bearing upon manner and circumstances of his death.

truly beautiful, and worthy to range with the gigantic species collected by Dr. Wallich. Of Ferns alone I have fully two hundred species, and half as many Mosses: of other plants comparatively few, as the season is not yet good for them, nor will be so until after the rains. On my return, I must consult with you on the best mode of publishing the plants of these islands.

I also visited the summit of *Mouna Roa*, the *Big or Long Mountain*, which afforded me inexpressible delight. This mountain, with an elevation of thirteen thousand five hundred and seventeen feet, is one of the most interesting in the world. I am ignorant whether the learned and venerable Menzies ascended it or no, but I think he must have done so, and the natives assert that this was the case. *The red-faced man, who cut off the limbs of men, and gathered grass*, is still known here; and the people say that he climbed Mouna Roa. No one, however, has since done so, until I went up a short while ago. The journey took me seventeen days. On the summit of this extraordinary mountain is a volcano, nearly twenty-four miles in circumference, and at present in terrific activity. You must not confound this with the one situated on the flanks of Mouna Roa, and spoken of by the missionaries and Lord Byron, and which I visited also. It is difficult to attempt describing such an immense place. The spectator is lost in terror and admiration at beholding an enormous sunken pit (for it differs from all our notions of volcanos, as possessing cone-shaped summits, with terminal openings), five miles square of which is a lake of liquid fire, in a state of ebullition, sometimes tranquil, at other times rolling its blazing waves with furious agitation, and casting them upwards in columns from thirty to one hundred and seventy feet high. In places, the hardened lava assumes the form of gothic arches in a colossal building, piled one above another in terrific magnificence, through and among which the fiery fluid forces its way in a current that proceeds three miles and a quarter per hour, or loses itself in fathomless chasms at the bottom of the cauldron. This volcano is one thousand two hundred and seventy-two feet deep; I mean down to the surface of the fire: its chasms and caverns can never be measured. Mouna Roa appears, indeed, more like an elevated Tableland than a mountain. It is a high broad dome, formed by an infinitude of layers of volcanic matter, thrown out from the many mouths of its craters. Vegetation does not exist higher than eleven thousand feet: there is no soil whatever, and no water. The lava is so porous that when the snow melts it disappears a few feet from the verge, the ground drinking it up like a sponge. On the higher parts grow some species of *Rubus*, *Fraseria*, *Vaccinium*, and some *Junci*. I visited also the volcano of Kirauea, the lateral volcano of Mouna Roa; it is nearly nine miles around, one thousand one hundred and fifty-seven feet deep, and is likewise in a terrific state of activity.

I go immediately to Hawaii to work on these mountains. May God grant me a safe return to England. I can not but indulge the pleasing hope of being soon able, in person, to thank you for the signal kindness you have ever shown me. And really were it only for the letters you have bestowed on me during my voyage, you should have a thousand thanks from me.

I send this, under cover to Captain Beaufort, to whom I have written respecting some of my astronomical observations; as also to Captain Sabine.

As already mentioned, the only Journal of Mr. Douglas's Second Expedition, which has reached this country, is that commencing with his departure from the Columbia, including the voyage to the Sandwich Islands, and the ascent of Mouna Roa. From this, with the loan of which we have been favoured by its possessor, Mr. John Douglas, we make the following extracts :

On Friday, the 18th of October, 1833, we quitted Cape Disappointment, in the Columbia River, and, after encountering much variety of weather, and many heavy baffling gales, anchored off Point de los Reyes on the 4th of November, and remained there till the 29th of the same month, our attempts to beat out of the Harbour of Sir Francis Drake having proved, several times, ineffectual. On the 28th I accompanied Mr. Finlayson in a small boat to Whaler's Harbour, near the neck of the bay, which leads up to the hill of San Rafaele, the highest peak in the immediate vicinity of the port. We landed at Mr. Reed's farm-house, placed on the site of an old Indian camp, where small mounds of marine shells bespeak the former existence of numerous aboriginal tribes. A fine small rivulet of good water falls into the bay at this point. Returning the same afternoon, we cleared the Punto de los Reyes, on the 30th, and, descrying the mountain of St. Lucia, South of Montérey, at a distance of forty or fifty miles, steered southward for the Sandwich Islands. The island of Maui was indistinctly seen at sun-set of the 21st of December, forty-two miles off; and, on the 22d, Woahu lay ten miles due West of us. Having quitted the Harbour of Fair Haven, in Woahu, on Friday, the 27th, in an American schooner of sixty tons, she proved too light for the boisterous winds and heavy seas of these channels, and we were accordingly obliged to drop anchor in Rahaina Roads, for the purpose of procuring more ballast. An American Missionary, Mr. Spaulding, having come on board, I accompanied him on shore, to visit the school, situated on the hillside, about five hundred feet from the shore,

and returned to the ship at night. On Tuesday, the 31st of December, we stood in for the island of Hawaii, and saw Mouna Kuah very clearly, a few small stripes of snow lying near its summit, which would seem to indicate an altitude inferior to that which has been commonly assigned to this mountain.

My object being to ascend and explore Mouna Kuah as soon as possible, I started on the 7th of January, 1834, and, after passing for rather more than three miles over plain country, commenced the ascent, which was, however, gradual, by entering the wood. Here the scenery was truly beautiful. Large timber trees were covered with creepers and species of *Tillandsia*, while the *Tree Ferns* gave a peculiar character to the whole country. We halted and dined at the Saw Mill, and made some barometrical observations, of which the result is recorded, along with those that occupied my time daily during the voyage, in my journal. Above this spot the *Banana* no longer grows, but I observed a species of *Rubus* among the rocks. We continued our way under such heavy rain, as, with the already bad state of the path, rendered walking very difficult and laborious; in the chinks of the lava, the mud was so wet that we repeatedly sunk in it above our knees. Encamping at some small huts, we passed an uncomfortable night, as no dry wood could be obtained for fuel, and it continued to rain without intermission. The next day we proceeded on our way at eight o'clock, the path becoming worse and worse. The large *Tree Ferns*, and other trees that shadowed it, proved no protection from the incessant rain, and I was drenched to the skin the whole day, besides repeatedly slipping into deep holes, full of soft mud. The number of species of *Filices* is very great, and towards the upper end of the wood, the timber trees, sixty or seventy feet high, and three to ten inches in circumference are matted with Mosses, which, together with the *Tillandsias* and *Ferns*, betoken an exceedingly humid atmosphere. The wood terminates abruptly; but as the lodge of the cattle-hunter was still about a mile and a half farther up the clear flank of the mountain, situated on the bank of a craggy lava stream, I delayed ascertaining the exact altitude of the spot where the woody region ends (a point of no small interest to the Botanist), until my return, and sate down to rest myself awhile, in a place where the ground was thickly carpeted with species of *Fragaria*, some of which were in blossom, and a few of them in fruit. Here a Mr. Miles, part owner of the saw-mill that I had passed the day before, came up to me; he was on his way to join his partner, a Mr. Castles, who was engaged in curing the flesh of the wild cattle near the verge of the wood, and his conversation helped to beguile the fatigues of the road, for though the distance I had accomplished this morning was little more than seven miles, still the labourious nature of the path, and the weight of more than sixty pounds on my back, where I carried my barometer, thermometer, book, and

papers, proved so very fatiguing, that I felt myself almost worn out. I reached the lodge at four, wet to the skin, and benumbed with cold, and humble as the shelter was, I hailed it with delight. Here a large fire dried my clothes, and I got something to eat, though, unluckily, my guides all lingered behind, and those who carried my blanket and tea-kettle were the last to make their appearance. These people have no thought or consideration for the morrow; but sit down to their food, smoke and tell stories and make themselves perfectly happy. The next day my two new acquaintances went out with their guns and shot a young bull, a few rods from the hut, which they kindly gave me for the use of my party. According to report, the grassy flanks of the mountain abound with wild cattle, the offspring of the stock left here by Capt. Vancouver, and which now prove a very great benefit to this island. A slight interval of better weather this afternoon afforded a glimpse of the summit between the clouds: it was covered with snow. At night the sky became quite clear, and the stars, among which I observed the Orion, Canis minor, and Canopus, shone with intense brilliancy.

The next day the atmosphere was perfectly cloudless, and I visited some of the high peaks which were thinly patched with snow. On two of them, which were extinct volcanos, not a blade of grass could be seen, nor any thing save lava, mostly reddish, but in some places of a black colour. Though on the summit of the most elevated peak, the thermometer under a bright sun, stood at 40°, yet when the instrument was laid at an angle of about fifteen degrees, the quicksilver rose to 63°, and the blocks of lava felt sensibly warm to the touch. The wind was from all directions, East and West, for the great altitude and the extensive mass of heating matter completely destroy the Trade Wind. The last plant that I saw upon the mountain was a gigantic species of the *Compositæ* (*Argyrophyton Douglasii*, Hook. Ic. Plant. t. 75), with a column of imbricated, sharp-pointed leaves, densely covered with a silky clothing. I gathered a few seeds of the plants which I met with, among them a remarkable *Ranunculus*, which grows as high up as there is any soil. One of my companions killed a young cow just on the edge of the wood, which he presented me with for the next day's consumption. Night arrived only too soon, and we had to walk four miles back to the lodge across the lava, where we arrived at eight o'clock, hungry, tired, and lame, but highly gratified with the result of the day's expedition.

The following morning proved again clear and pleasant, and every thing being arranged, some of the men were despatched early, but such are the delays which these people make, that I overtook them all before eight o'clock. They have no idea of time, but stand still awhile, then walk a little, stop and eat, smoke and talk, and thus loiter away a whole day. At noon we came up to the place where we had left the

cow, and having dressed the meat, we took a part, and left the rest hanging on the bushes. We passed to the left of the lowest extinct volcano, and again encamped on the same peak as the preceding night. It was long after dark before the men arrived, and as this place afforded no wood, we had to make a fire of the leaves and dead stems of the species of *Compositæ* mentioned before, and which, together with a small *Juncus*, grows higher up the mountain than any other plant. The great difference produced on vegetation by the agitated and volcanic state of this mountain, is very distinctly marked. Here there is no line between the Phenogamous and Cryptogamous Plants, but the limits of vegetation itself are defined with the greatest exactness, and the species do not gradually diminish in number and stature, as is generally the case on such high elevations.

The line of what may be called the Woody country, the upper verge of which the barometer expresses 21.450 inch.; therm. 46° at two P. M., is where we immediately enter on a region of broken and uneven ground, with here and there lumps of lava, rising above the general declivity to a height of three to four hundred feet, intersected by deep chasms, which show the course of the lava when in a state of fluidity. This portion of the mountain is highly picturesque and sublime. Three kinds of timber, of small growth, are scattered over the low knolls, with one species of *Rubus* and *Vaccinium*, the genus *Fragaria* and a few *Gramineæ*, *Filices*, and some Alpine species. This region extends to bar. 20.620 inch.; air 40°, dew-point 30°. There is a third region which reaches to the place where we encamped yesterday, and seems to be the great rise or spring of the lava, the upper part of which, at the foot of the first extinct peak, is bar. 20.010 inch.; air 39°.

At six o'clock the next morning, accompanied by three Islanders and two Americans, I started for the summit of the mountain; bar. at that hour indicated 20.000 inch., therm. 24°, hyg. 20°. A keen West wind was blowing off the mountain, which was felt severely by us all, and especially by the natives, whom it was necessary to protect with additional blankets and great-coats. We passed over about five miles of gentle ascent, consisting of large blocks of lava, sand, scorïæ, and ashes, of every size, shape, and colour, demonstrating all the gradations of calcination, from the mildest to the most intense. This may be termed the Table Land or Platform, where spring the great vent-holes of the subterranean fire, or numerous volcanos. The general appearance is that of the channel of an immense river, heaved up. In some places the round boulders of lava are so regularly placed, and the sand is so washed in around them, as to give the appearance of a causeway, while in others, the lava seems to have run like a stream. We commenced the ascent of the Great Peak at nine o'clock, on the N. E. side, over a ridge of tremendously rugged lava, four hundred

and seventy feet high, preferring this course to the very steep ascent of the South side, which consists entirely of loose ashes and scorïæ, and we gained the summit soon after ten. Though exhausted with fatigue before leaving the Table Land, and much tried with the increasing cold, yet such was my ardent desire to reach the top, that the last portion of the way seemed the easiest. This is the loftiest of the chimneys; a lengthened ridge of two hundred and twenty-one yards two feet, running nearly straight N. W. To the North, four feet below the extreme summit of the Peak, the barometer was instantly suspended, the cistern being exactly below, and when the mercury had acquired the temperature of the circumambient air, the following register was entered: at 11 hrs. 20 min.; bar. 18.362 inch.; air 33°; hydr. 0'' 5[?]. At twelve o'clock the horizon displayed some snowy clouds; until this period, the view was sublime to the greatest degree, but now every appearance of a mountain-storm came on. The whole of the low S. E. point of the island was throughout the day covered like a vast plain of snow, with clouds. The same thermometer laid in the bare lava, and exposed to the wind at an angle of 27°, expressed at first 37°, and afterwards, at twelve o'clock, 41°, though when held in the hand exposed to the sun, it did not rise at all. It may well be conjectured that such an immense mass of heating material, combined with the influence of internal fire, and taken in connexion with the insular position of Mouna Kuah, surrounded with an immense mass of water, will have the effect of raising the snow-line considerably, except on the northern declivity, or where sheltered by large blocks of lava, there was no snow to be seen; even on the top of the cairn, where the barometer was fixed, there were only a few handfuls. One thing struck me as curious, the apparent non-diminution of sound; not as respects the rapidity of its transmission, which is, of course, subject to a well-known law. Certain it is, that on mountains of inferior elevation, whose summits are clothed with snow and ice, we find it needful to roar into one another's ears, and the firing of a gun at a short distance does not disturb the timid Antelope on the high snowy peaks of N. W. America. Snow is doubtless a non-conductor of sound, but there may be also something in the mineral substance of Mouna Kuah which would effect this.

Until eleven o'clock, the horizon was beautifully defined on the whole N. W. of the island. The great dryness of the air is evident to the senses, without the assistance of the hygrometer. Walking with my trousers rolled up to my knees, and without shoes, I did not know there were holes in my stockings, till I was apprised of them by the scorching heat and pain in my feet, which continued throughout the day, the skin also peeled from my face. While on the summit I experienced a violent head-ache, and my eyes became blood-shot, accompanied with stiffness in their lids.

Were the traveller permitted to express the emotions he feels when placed on such an astonishing part of the earth's surface, cold, indeed, must his heart be to the great operations of Nature, and still colder towards Nature's God, by whose wisdom and power such wonderful scenes were created, if he could behold them without deep humility and reverential awe. Man feels himself as nothing—as of standing on the verge of another world. The deathlike stillness of the place, not an animal nor an insect to be seen—far removed from the din and bustle of the world, impresses on his mind with double force the extreme helplessness of his condition, an object of pity and compassion, utterly unworthy to stand in the presence of a great and good, and wise and holy God, and to contemplate the diversified works of his hands!

I made a small collection of geological specimens, to illustrate the nature and quality of the lavas of this mountain, but being only slightly acquainted with this department of Natural History, I could do no more than gather together such materials as seemed likely to be useful to other and more experienced persons. As night was closing and threatening to be very stormy, we hastened toward the camp, descending nearly by the same way as we came, and finding my guide, Honori; and the other men all in readiness, we all proceeded to the edge of the woody region, and regained the lodge, highly gratified with the result of this very fatiguing day's excursion. Having brought provision from the hill, we fared well.

January the 13th.—The rain fell fast all night, and continued, accompanied by a dense mist, this morning, only clearing sufficiently to give us a momentary glimpse of the mountain, covered with snow down to the woody region. We also saw Mouna Roa, which was similarly clothed for a great part of its height. Thankful had we cause to be that this heavy rain, wind, and fog did not come on while we were on the summit, as it would have caused us much inconvenience and perhaps danger.

The same weather continuing till the 15th, I packed up all the baggage and prepared to return. It consisted of several packages tied up in Coa baskets, which are manufactured from a large and beautiful tree, a species of *Acacia*, of which the timber resembles mahogany, though of a lighter colour, and is beautiful, and said to be durable; also some parcels of geological specimens, my instruments, etc. At seven A. M. I started, having sent the bearers of my luggage before me, but I had hardly entered the wood, by the same path as I took on my ascent, when the rain began to fall, which continued without the least intermission; but as there was no place suitable for encamping, and the people as usual had straggled away from one another, I resolved to proceed. The path was in a dreadful state, numerous rivulets overflowed it in many places, and, rising above their banks, rushed

in foam through the deep glens, the necessity for crossing which impeded my progress in no slight degree. In the low places the water spread into small lakes, and where the road had a considerable declivity, the rushing torrent which flowed down it, gave rather the appearance of a cascade than a path. The road was so soft that we repeatedly sunk to the knees, and supported ourselves on a lava block or the roots of the trees. Still, violent as was the rain, and slippery and dangerous the path, I gathered a truly splendid collection of Ferns, of nearly fifty species, with a few other plants, and some seeds, which were tied up in small bundles, to prevent fermentation, and then protected by fresh Coa bark. Several beautiful species of Mosses and Lichens were also collected; and spite of all the disadvantages and fatigue that I underwent, still the magnificence of the scenery commanded my frequent attention, and I repeatedly sate down, in the course of the day, under some huge spreading Tree fern, which more resembled an individual of the Pine than the fern tribe, and contemplated with delight the endless variety of form and structure that adorned the objects around me. On the higher part of the mountain I gathered a Fern identical with the *Asplenium viride* of my own native country, a circumstance which gave me inexpressible pleasure, and recalled to my mind many of the happiest scenes of my early life.

In the evening I reached the saw-mill, when the kind welcome of my mountain friend, Mr. Miles, together with a rousing fire, soon made me forget the rain and fatigues of the day. Some of the men had arrived before me, others afterwards, and two did not appear till the following day, for having met with some friends, loaded with meat, they preferred a good supper to a dry bed. My guide, friend, and interpreter, Honori, an intelligent and well-disposed fellow, arrived at seven, in great dismay, having in the dark entered the river a short distance above a chain of cataracts, and to avoid these, he had clung to a rock till extricated by the aid of two active young men. Though he had escaped unhurt, he had been exposed to the wet for nearly ten hours. A night of constant rain succeeded, but I rested well, and after breakfast, having examined all the packages, we quitted the saw-mill for the bay, and arrived there in the afternoon, the arrangement and preservation of my plants affording me occupation for two or three days. It was no easy matter to dry specimens and papers during such incessantly rainy weather. I paid the whole of the sixteen men who had accompanied me, not including Honori, and the king's man, at the rate of two dollars, some in money and some in goods: the latter consisted of cotton cloth, combs, scissors, and thread, etc., while to those who had acquitted themselves with willingness and activity, I added a small present in addition. Most of them preferred money, especially the lazy fellows. The whole of the number employed in carrying my baggage and provisions was five

men, which left eleven for the conveyance of their own *Tapas* and food. Nor was this unreasonable, for the quantity of *Poe* which a native will consume in a week, nearly equals his own weight! A dreadful drawback on an expedition. Still, though the sixteen persons ate two bullocks in a week, besides, what they carried, a threatened scarcity of food compelled me to return rather sooner than I should have done, in order that the Calabashes might be replenished. No people in the world can cram themselves to such a degree as the Sandwich Islanders; their food is, however, of a very light kind, and easily digested.

On the 22nd of January, the air being pleasant, and the sun occasionally visible, I had all my packages assorted by nine A. M., and engaged my old guide, Honori, and nine men to accompany me to the volcano and to Mouna Roa. As usual, there was a formidable display of luggage, consisting of *Tapas*, *Calabashes*, *Poe*, *Taro*, etc., while each individual provided himself with the solace of a staff of sugar cane, which shortens the distance, for the pedestrian, when tired and thirsty, sits down and bites off an inch or two from the end of his staff. A friend accompanied me as far as his house on the road, where there is a large church, his kind intention being to give me some provision for the excursion, but as he was a stout person, I soon outstripped him. On leaving the bay, we passed through a fertile spot consisting of Taro patches in ponds, where the ground is purposely overflowed, and afterwards covered with a deep layer of Fern-leaves to keep it damp. Here were fine groves of *Bread-fruit*, and ponds of Mullet and Ava-fish; the scenery is beautiful, being studded with dwellings and little plantations of vegetables and of *Morus papyrifera* of which there are two kinds, one much whiter than the other. The most striking feature in the vegetation consists in the Tree-Ferns, some smaller species of the same tribe, and a curious kind of *Compositæ*, like an *Eupatorium*. At about four miles and a half from the bay, we entered the wood, through which there is a tolerably clear path, the muddy spots being rendered passable by the stems or trunks of Tree-Ferns, laid close together cross-wise. They seemed to be the same species as I had observed on the ascent to Mouna Kuah. About an hour's walk brought us through the wood, and we then crossed another open plain of three miles and a half, at the upper end of which, in a most beautiful situation, stand the church, and close to it the chief's house. Some heavy showers had drenched us through; still, as soon as our friend arrived, and the needful arrangements were made, I started and continued the ascent over a very gentle rising ground in a southerly direction, passing through some delightful country, interspersed with low timber. At night we halted at a house, of which the owner was a very civil person, though remarkably talkative. Four old women were inmates of the same dwell-

ing, one of whom, eighty years of age, with hair white as snow, was engaged in feeding two favourite cats with fish. My little terrier disputed the fare with them, to the no small annoyance of their mistress. A well-looking young female amused me with singing, while she was engaged in the process of cooking a dog on heated stones. I also observed a handsome young man, whose very strong stiff black hair was allowed to grow to a great length on the top of his head, while it was cut close over the ears, and falling down on the back of his head and neck, had all the appearance of a Roman helmet.

January the 23rd.—This morning the old lady was engaged in feeding a dog with fox-like ears, instead of her cats. She compelled the poor animal to swallow *Poe*, by cramming it into his mouth, and what he put out at the sides, she took up and ate herself; this she did, as she informed me, by way of fattening the dog for food. A little while before daybreak my host went to the door of the lodge, and after calling over some extraordinary words which would seem to set orthography at defiance, a loud grunt in response from under the thick shade of some adjoining Tree-Ferns was followed by the appearance of a fine, large, black pig, which, coming at his master's call, was forthwith caught and killed for the use of myself and my attendants. The meat was cooked on heated stones, and three men were kindly sent to carry it to the volcano, a distance of twenty-three miles, tied up in the large leaves of Banana and Ti-tree. The morning was deliciously cool and clear, with a light breeze. Immediately on passing through a narrow belt of wood, where the timber was large, and its trunks matted with parasitic Ferns, I arrived at a tract of ground, over which there was but a scanty covering of soil above the lava, interspersed with low bushes and Ferns. Here I beheld one of the grandest scenes imaginable,—Mouna Roa reared his bold front, covered with snow, far above the region of verdure, while Mouna Kuah was similarly clothed, to the timber region on the South side, while the summit was cleared of the snow that had fallen on the nights of the 12th and two following days. The district of Hido, "Byron's Bay," which I had quitted the previous day, presented, from its great moisture, a truly lovely appearance, contrasting in a striking manner with the country where I then stood, and which extended to the sea, whose surface bore evident signs of having been repeatedly ravaged by volcanic fires. In the distance, to the South-west, the dense black cloud which overhangs the great volcano attests, amid the otherwise unsullied purity of the sky, the mighty operations at present going on in that immense laboratory. The lava, throughout the whole district, appeared to be of every colour and shape, compact, bluish, and black, porous or vesicular, heavy and light. In some places it lies in regular lines and masses, resembling narrow, horizontal, basaltic columns; in others, in tortuous forms, or gathered into rugged humps of small elevation; while, scattered over the whole

plain, are numerous extinct, abrupt, generally circular craters, varying in height from one hundred to three hundred feet, and with about an equal diameter at their tops. At the distance of five miles from the volcano, the country is more rugged, the fissures in the ground being both larger and more numerous, and the whole tract covered with gravel and lava, etc., ejected at various periods from the crater. The steam that now arose from the cracks bespoke our near approach to the summit, and at two P. M. I arrived at its northern extremity, where finding it nearly level, and observing that water was not far distant, I chose that spot for my encampment. As, however, the people were not likely to arrive before the evening, I took a walk around the West side, now the most active part of the volcano, and sat down there, not, correctly speaking, to enjoy, but to gaze with wonder and amazement on this terrific sight, which inspired the beholder with a fearful pleasure. From the description of former visitors, I judged that Mouna Roa must now be in a state of comparative tranquillity. A lake of liquid fire, in extent about a thirteenth part of the whole crater, was boiling with a furious agitation: not constantly, however, for at one time it appeared calm and level, the numerous fiery red streaks on its surface alone attesting its state of ebullition, when again, the red-hot lava would dart upwards and boil with terrific grandeur, spouting to a height which, from the distance at which I stood I calculated to be from forty to seventy feet, when it would dash violently against the black ledge, and then subside again for a few moments. Close by the fire was a chimney about forty feet high, which occasionally discharges its steam, as if all the steam-engines in the world were concentrated in it. This preceded the tranquil state of the lake, which is situated near the Southwest, or smaller end of the crater. In the center of the Great Crater a second lake of fire, of circular form, but smaller dimensions, was boiling with equal intensity; the noise was dreadful beyond all description. The people having arrived, Honori last, my tent was pitched twenty yards back from the perpendicular wall of the crater; and as there was an old hut of Ti-leaves on the immediate bank, only six feet from the extreme verge, my people soon repaired it for their own use. As the sun sunk behind the western flank of Mouna Roa, the splendor of the scene increased: but when the nearly full moon rose in a cloudless sky, and shed her silvery brightness on the fiery lake, roaring and boiling in fearful majesty, the spectacle became so commanding, that I lost a fine night for making astronomical observations, by gazing on the volcano, the illumination of which was but little diminished by a thick haze that set in at midnight.

On Friday, January the 24th, the air was delightfully clear, and I was enabled to take the bearings of the volcano and adjoining objects with great exactness. To the north of the crater are numerous cracks and fissures in the ground, varying in size, form, and depth, some long,

some straight, round, or twisted, from whence steam continually issued, which in two of them is rapidly condensed and collects in small basins or wells, one of which is situated at the immediate edge of the crater, and the other four hundred and eighty yards to the North of it. The latter, fifteen inches deep and three feet deep in diameter, about thirteen feet North of a very large fissure, according to my thermometer, compared with that at Greenwich and at the Royal Society, and found without error, maintained a temperature of 65° . The same instrument, suspended freely in the above-mentioned fissure, ten feet from the surface, expressed, by repeated trials, 158° ; and an equal temperature was maintained when it was nearly level with the surface. When the Islanders visit this mountain, they invariably carry on their cooking operations at this place. Some pork and a fowl that I had brought, together with Tara-roots and Sweet Potatoes were steamed here to a nicety in twenty-seven minutes, having been tied up in leaves of Banana. On the sulphur bank are many fissures, which continually exhale sulphureous vapours, and form beautiful prisms, those deposited in the inside being the most delicate and fairy in figure, encrusting the hollows in masses, both large and small, resembling swallows' nests on the wall of a building. When severed from the rock or ground, they emit a crackling noise by the contraction of the parts in the process of cooling. The great thermometer placed in the holes, showed the temperature to be 195.5° , after repeated trials which all agreed together, the air being then 71° .

I had furnished shoes for those persons who should descend into the crater with me, but none of them could walk when so equipped, preferring a mat sole, made of tough leaves, and fastened round the heel and between the toes, which seemed, indeed, to answer the purpose entirely well. Accompanied by three individuals, I proceeded at one P. M. along the North side, and descended the first ledge over such rugged ground as bespoke a long stage of repose, the fissures and flanks being clothed with verdure of considerable size: thence we ascended two hundred feet to the level platform that divides the great and small volcanos. On the left, a perpendicular rock three hundred feet above the level, showed the extent of the volcano to have been originally much greater than it is at present. The small crater appears to have enjoyed a long period of tranquillity, for down to the very edge of the crust of the lava, particularly on the East side, there are trees of considerable size, on which I counted from sixty to one hundred and twenty-four annual rings or concentric layers. The lava at the bottom flowed from a spot, nearly equi-distant from the great and small craters, both uniting into a river, from forty to seventy yards in breadth, and which appears comparatively recent. A little South of this stream, over a dreadfully rugged bank, I descended the first ledge of the crater, and proceeded for three hundred yards over

a level space, composed of ashes, scorïæ, and large stones that had been ejected from the mouth of the volcano. The stream formerly described is the only fluid lava here. Hence, to arrive at the black ledge, is another descent of about two hundred and forty feet, more difficult to be passed than any other, and this brings the traveler to the brink of the black ledge where a scene of all that is terrific to behold presents itself before his eyes. He sees a vast basin, recently in a state of igneous fusion, now, in cooling, broken up, somewhat in the manner of the Great American lakes when the ice gives way, in some places level in large sheets, elsewhere rolled in tremendous masses, and twisted into a thousand different shapes, sometimes even being filamentose, like fine hair, but all displaying a mighty agency still existing in this immense depository of subterraneous fire. A most uncomfortable feeling is experienced when the traveler becomes aware that the lava is hollow and faithless beneath his tread. Of all sensation in nature, that produced by earthquakes or volcanic agencies is the most alarming: the strongest nerves are unstrung, and the most courageous mind feels weakened and unhinged, when exposed to either. How insignificant are the operations of man's hands, taken in their vastest extent, when compared with the magnitude of the works of God!

On the black ledge, the thermometer held in the hand five feet from the ground indicated a temperature of 89° , and when laid on the lava, if in the sun's rays, 115° , and 112° in the shade; on the brink of the burning lake, at the South end, it rose to 124° . Over some fissures in the lava, where the smoke was of a greyish rather than a blue tinge, the thermometer stood at 94° . I remained for upwards of two hours in the crater, suffering all the time an intense head-ache, with my pulse strong and irregular, and my tongue parched, together with other symptoms of fever. The intense heat and sulphurous nature of the ground had corroded my shoes so much that they barely protected my feet from the hot lava. I ascended out of the crater at the South-West, or small end, over two steep banks of scorïæ and two ledges of rock, and returned by the West side to my tent, having thus walked quite around this mighty crater. The evening was foggy; I took some cooling medicine, and lay down early to rest.

Saturday, January 25th.—I slept profoundly till two A. M., when, as not a speck could be seen in the horizon, and the moon was unusually bright, I rose with the intention of making some lunar observations, but though the thermometer stood at 41° , the keen mountain-breeze affected me so much, of course, mainly owing to the fatigue and heat I had suffered the day before, that I was reluctantly obliged to relinquish the attempt, and being unable to settle again to sleep, I replenished my blazing stock of fuel, and sat gazing on the roaring and agitated state of the crater, where three new fires had

burst out since ten o'clock the preceding evening. Poor Honori, my guide, who is a martyr to asthma, was so much affected by their exhalations (for they were on the North bank, just below my tent,) that he coughed incessantly the whole night, and complained of cold, though he was wrapped in my best blanket, besides his own tapas and some other articles which he had borrowed from my Woahu man. The latter slept with his head towards the fire, coiled up most luxuriously, and neither cold, heat, nor the roaring of the volcano at all disturbed his repose.

Leaving the charge of my papers and collections under the special care of one individual, and giving plenty of provision for twelve days to the rest, consisting of one quarter of pork, with *poe* and *taro*, I started for Kapupala soon after eight A. M. The path struck off for two miles in a North-West direction, to avoid the rugged lava and ashes on the west bank of Mouna Roa, still it was indescribably difficult in many places, as the lava rose in great masses, some perpendicular, others lying horizontal; in fact, with every variation of form and situation. In other parts the walking was pretty good, over grassy undulating plains, clothed with a healthy sward, and studded here and there with *Maurarii* Trees in full blossom, a beautiful tree, much resembling the English Laburnum. As I withdrew from the volcano in order to obtain a good general view of the country lying South and betwixt me and the sea, I ascertained the western ridge or verge of the volcano to be decidedly the most elevated of the table land: and a narrow valley lies to the West of it. A low ridge runs from the mountain southward to the sea, terminating at the South end in a number of craters of various form and extent. West of this low ridge between the gentle ascent of grassy ground on Mouna Roa, there is a space of five to seven miles in breadth to the Grand Discharge from the Great Volcano, where it falls into the ocean at Kapupala. The present aspect of the crater leads me to think that there has been no *overflowing* of the lava for years: the discharge is evidently from the subterranean vaults below. In 1822, the Islanders say there was a great discharge in this direction. Among the grassy, undulating ground are numerous caves, some of them of great magnitude, from forty to sixty-five feet high, and from thirty to forty feet broad, many of them of great length, like gigantic arches, and very rugged. These generally run at right angles with the dome of Mouna Roa and the sea. Some of these natural tunnels may be traced for several miles in length, with occasional holes of different sizes in the roofs, screened sometimes with an overgrowth of large Trees and Ferns, which renders walking highly dangerous. At other places the tops of the vaults have fallen in for the space of one hundred or even three hundred yards, an occurrence which is attributable to the violent earthquakes that sometimes visit this district, and which, as may be readily

imagined from the number of these tunnels, is not well supplied with water. The inhabitants convert these caverns to use in various ways: employing them occasionally as permanent dwellings, but more frequently as cool retreats where they carry on the process of making native cloth from the bark of the *Mulberry Tree*, or where they fabricate and shelter their canoes from the violent rays of the sun. They are also used for goat-folds and pig-styes, and the fallen-in places, where there is 'a greater depth of decomposed vegetable matter, are frequently planted with *Tobacco*, *Indian Corn*, *Melons*, and other choice plants. At a distance of ten miles north of Kapupala, and near the edge of the path, are some fine caverns, above sixty feet deep. The water, dropping from the top of the vault, collected into small pools below, indicated a temperature of 50°, the air of the cave itself 51°, while in the shade on the outside the thermometer stood at 82°. The interiors of the moist caverns are of a most beautiful appearance; not only from the singularity of their structure, but because they are delightfully fringed with *Ferns*, *Mosses*, and *Jungermannia*, thus holding out to the Botanist a most inviting retreat from the overpowering rays of a tropical sun.

Arrived at Kapupala, at three P. M., I found that the chief or head man had prepared a house for me, a nice and clean dwelling, with abundance of fine mats, etc., but as near it there stood several large canoes filled with water, containing Mulberry Bark in a state of fermentation, and highly offensive, as also a large pig-fold, surrounded by a lava-wall, and shaded with large bushes of *Ricinus communis*, altogether forming an unsuitable station for making observations, to say nothing of the din and bustle constantly going on when strangers are present. besides the annoyance from fleas, I caused my tent to be pitched one hundred yards behind the house. The chief would have been better pleased if I had occupied his dwelling, but through Honori, I had this matter explained to his satisfaction. He sent me a fowl, cooked on heated stones underground, some baked Taro, and Sweet Potatoes, together with a calabash full of delicious goat's-milk, poured through the husk of a Cocoa-nut in lieu of a sieve.

As strangers rarely visit this part of the island, a crowd soon assembled for the evening. The vegetation in this district can hardly be compared with that of Hilo,* nor are the natives so industrious; they have no fish-ponds, and cultivate little else than Taro, which they call *Dry Taro*, no Bananas, and but little Sugar-cane, or other vegetables. Flocks of goats browse over the hills, while fowls, turkeys, and pigs are numerous, and occupy the same dwellings with their owners.

*Wherever the word "Hilo" occurs in the text it has been changed from "Hido",—ED. QUARTERLY.

Honori, my guide, interpreter, purveyor, and, I may say, friend (for in every department of his omnifarious capacity he is a good sort of fellow), preached to-day, Sunday, the 26th, in his own language to an assembly of both sexes, old and young, nearly two hundred in number, both morning and evening. I did not see him, but from my tent-door I could hear him in the School-house, a low, small edifice, expounding and exhorting with much warmth. Having made so bold afterwards as to ask him where he took his text, he readily replied, that he "chose no text, but had taken occasion to say to the people a few good words concerning Paul when at Rome." He was evidently well pleased himself with his sermon, and seemed to please his audience also. I visited the school in the interval, when Honori had retired to compose his second sermon, and found the assemblage under the direction of the chief, who appears to be a good man, though far from an apt scholar; they were reading the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, and proceeded to the third, reading verse and verse, all round. The females were by far the most attentive, and proved themselves the readiest learners. It is most gratifying to see far beyond the pale of what is called civilization, this proper sanctification of the Lord's Day, not only consisting in a cessation from the ordinary duties, but in reading and reflecting upon the purifying and consolatory doctrines of Christianity. The women were all neatly dressed in the native fashion, except the chief's wife, and some few others who wore very clean garments of calico. The hair was either arranged in curls or braided on the temples, and adorned with tortoise-shell combs of their own making, and chaplets of balsamic flowers, the pea-flowering racemes of the Maurarii-Tree, and feathers, etc. The men were all in the national attire, and looked tolerably well dressed, except a few of the old gentlemen.

The schoolmaster, a little hump-backed man, about thirty years old, little more than three feet high, with disproportionately long legs, and having a most peculiar cast in his right eye, failed not to prompt and reprove his scholars when necessary in a remarkably powerful tone of voice, which when he read, produced a trumpet-like sound, resembling the voice of a person bawling into a cask.

Honori "had the people called together" by the sound of a conch-shell, blown by a little imp of a lad, perched on a block of lava, in front of the school-house, when as in the morning, he "lectured" on the third chapter of St. John. The congregation was thinner than in the morning, many who lived at a distance having retired to their homes.

I spent the Monday (January the 27th,) in making observations and arranging matters for returning to Mouna Roa: my men cooked a stock of Taro, and I purchased a fine large goat for their use.

Tuesday, January the 28th.—I hired two guides, the elder of whom a short, stout man, was particularly recommended to me by the chief for his knowledge of the mountain. By profession he is a bird-catcher, going in quest of that particular kind of bird which furnishes the feathers of which the ancient cloaks, used by the natives of these islands are made. The other guide was a young man. Three volunteers offered to accompany me; one a very stout, fat dame, apparently about thirty, another not much more than half that age, a really well-looking girl, tall and athletic: but to the first, the bird-catcher gave such an awful account of the perils to be undergone, that both the females finally declined the attempt, and only the third person, a young man, went with me. My original party of ten, besides Honori and two guides, set out at eight, with, as usual, a terrible array of Tara, calabashes full of Poe, Sweet Potatoes, dry Poe tied up in Tilleaves, and goat's flesh, each bearing a pole on his shoulder with a bundle at either end. Of their vegetable food, a Sandwich Islander can not carry more than a week's consumption, besides what he may pick up on the way. One, whose office it was to convey five quires of paper for me, was so strangely attired in a double-milled grey great coat, with a spencer of still thicker materials above it, that he lamented to his companions that his load was too great, and begged their help to lift it on his back. I had to show the fellow, who was blind of one eye, the unreasonableness of his grumbling by hanging the parcel by the cord on my little finger. He said, "Ah! the stranger is strong," and walked off. Among my attendants was one singular-looking personage, a stripling, who carried a small packet of instruments, and trotted away, arrayed in "a Cutty-sark." of most "scanty longitude," the upper portion of which had been once of white and the lower of red flannel. Honori brought up the rear with a small telescope slung over his shoulder, and an umbrella, which, owing perhaps to his asthmatic complaint, he never fails to carry with him, both in fair and foul weather. We returned for about a mile and a half along the road that led to the Great Volcano, and then struck off to the left in a small path that wound in a northerly direction up the green, grassy flank of Mouna Roa. I soon found that Honori's cough would not allow him to keep up with the rest of the party, so leaving one guide with him, and making the bird-catcher take the lead, I proceeded at a quicker rate. This part of the island is very beautiful; the ground, though hilly, is covered with a tolerably thick coating of soil, which supports a fine sward of Grass, Ferns, climbing plants, and in some places timber of considerable size, Coa, Tutui, and Mamme trees. Though fallen trees and brushwood occasionally intercepted the path, still it was by no means so difficult as that by which I had ascended Mouna Kuah. To avoid a woody point of steep ascent, we turned a little eastward, after having traveled about five miles and a half,

and passed several deserted dwellings, apparently only intended as the temporary abodes of bird-catchers, and sandal-wood-cutters. Calabashes and Pumpkins, with Tobacco, were the only plants that I observed growing near them. At eleven A. M. we came to a small pool of fresh water collected in the lava, the temperature of which was 55°; here my people halted for a few minutes to smoke. The barometer stood at 26 inch., the air 62°, and the dew-point at 58°. The wind was from the South, with a gentle fanning breeze and a clear sky. Hence the path turns Northwest for a mile and a half, becoming a little steeper, till it leads to a beautiful circular well, three feet deep, flowing in the lava, its banks fringed with Strawberry Vines, and shaded by an Acacia Tree grove. Here we again rested for half an hour. We might be said here to have ascended above the woody country; the ground became more steep and broken, with a thinner soil and trees of humbler growth, leading towards the South-East ridge of Mouna Roa, which, judging from a distance, appeared the part to which there is the easiest access. I would recommend to any Naturalist who may in future visit this mountain, to have their canteen filled at the well just mentioned, for my guide, trusting to one which existed in a cave further up, and which he was unable to find, declined to provide himself with this indispensable article at the lower well, and we were consequently put to the greatest inconvenience. Among the brush-wood was a strong kind of Raspberry-bush, destitute of leaves; the fruit I am told is white. At four P. M. we arrived at a place where the lava suddenly became very rugged, and the brush-wood low, where we rested and chewed sugar-cane, of which we carried a large supply, and where the guides were anxious to remain all night. As this was not very desirable, since we had no water, I proceeded for an hour longer, to what might be called the Line of Shrubs, and at two miles and a half further on, encamped for the night. We collected some small stems of a heath-like plant, which, with the dried stalks of the same species of *Composite* which I observed on Mouna Kuah, afforded a tolerably good fire. The man who carried the provisions did not make his appearance — indeed, it is very difficult, except by literally driving them before you, to make the natives keep up with an active traveller. Thus I had to sup upon Taro-roots. Honori, as I expected, did not come up. I had no view of the surrounding country, for the region below, especially over the land, was covered with a thick layer of fleecy mist, and the cloud which always hovers above the great volcano, over-hung the horizon and rose into the air like a great tower. Sun-set gave a totally different aspect to the whole, the fleecy clouds changed their hue to a vapoury tint, and the volume of mist above the volcano, which is silvery bright during the prevalence of sunshine, assumed a fiery aspect, and illumined the sky for many miles around. A strong North-

West mountain-breeze sprung up, and the stars, especially Canopus and Sirius, shone with unusual brilliancy. Never, even under a tropical sky, did I behold so many stars. Sheltered by a little brush-wood, I lay down on the lava beside the fire, and enjoyed a good night's rest, while my attendants swarmed together in a small cave, which they literally converted into an oven by the immense fire they kindled in it.

Wednesday, January the 29th.—The morning rose bright and clear, but cold, from the influence of a keen mountain-breeze. As the man who carried the provisions was still missing, the preparation of breakfast occupied but little time, so that accompanied by the bird-catcher and Cutty-sark, I started at half-past six for the summit of the mountain, leaving the others to collect fuel and to look for water. Shortly before day-break the sky was exceedingly clear and beautiful, especially that part of the horizon where the sun rose, and above which the upper limb of his disc was visible like a thread of gold, soon to be quenched in a thick haze, which was extended over the horizon. It were difficult, nay, almost impossible, to describe the beauty of the sky and the glorious scenes of this day. The lava is terrible beyond description, and our track lay over ledges of the roughest kind, in some places glassy and smooth like slag from the furnace, compact and heavy like basalt; in others, tumbled into enormous mounds, or sunk in deep valleys, or rent into fissures, ridges, and clefts. This was at the verge of the snow—not twenty yards of the whole space could be called level or even. In every direction vast holes or mouths are seen, varying in size, form and colour, from ten to seventy feet high. The lava that has been vomited forth from these openings presents a truly novel spectacle. From some, and occasionally, indeed, from the same mouth, the streams may be seen, pressed forward transversely, or in curved segments, while other channels present a floating appearance; occasionally the circular tortuous masses resemble gigantic cables, or are drawn into cords, or even capillary threads, finer than any silken thread, and carried to a great distance by the wind. The activity of these funnels may be inferred from the quantity of slag lying round them, its size, and the distance to which it has been thrown. Walking was rendered dangerous by the multitude of fissures, many of which are but slightly covered with a thin crust, and everywhere our progress was exceedingly labourious and fatiguing. As we continued to ascend, the cold and fatigue disheartened the Islanders, who required all the encouragement I could give to induce them to proceed. As I took the lead, it was needful for me to look behind me continually, for when once out of sight, they would pop themselves down and neither rise nor answer to my call. After resting for a few moments at the last station, I proceeded about seven miles further, over a similar kind of formation, till I came to a sort of low ridge, the top of which I gained soon after eleven P. M., the thermometer indicating 37°, and the sky

very clear. This part was of gradual ascent, and its summit might be considered the southern part of the dome. The snow became very deep, and the influence of the sun melting its crust, which concealed the sharp points of the lava, was very unfavourable to my progress. From this place to the North towards the centre of the dome, the hill is more flattened. Rested a short time, and a few moments before noon, halted near the highest black, shaggy chimney to observe the sun's passage. In recording the following observations, I particularly note the places, in order that future visitors may be able to verify them. To the S. W. of this chimney, at the distance of one hundred and seventy yards, stands a knoll of lava, about seventy feet above the gradual rise of the place. The altitude was $104^{\circ} 52' 45''$. This observation was made under highly favourable circumstances, on a horizon of mercury, without a roof, it being protected from the wind by a small oilcloth:—bar. 18.953; therm. 41° ; in the sun's rays $43^{\circ} 5'$; and when buried in the snow, 31° ; the dew-point at 7° ; wind S. W.

The summit of this extraordinary mountain is so flat, that from this point no part of the island can be seen, not even the high peaks of Mouna Kuah, nor the distant horizon of the sea, though the sky was remarkably clear. It is a horizon of itself, and about seven miles in diameter. I ought, ere now, to have said that the bird-catcher's knowledge of the volcano did not rise above the woody region, and now he and my two other followers were unable to proceed further. Leaving these three behind, and accompanied by only Calipio, I went on about two miles and a half, when the Great Terminal Volcano or Cone of Mouna Roa burst on my view: all my attempts to scale the black ledge here were ineffectual, as the fissures in the lava were so much concealed, though not protected by the snow, that the undertaking was accompanied with great danger. Most reluctantly was I obliged to return, without being able to measure accurately its extraordinary depth. From this point I walked along the brink of the high ledge, along the East side, to the hump, so to speak, of the mountain, the point which, as seen from Mouna Kuah, appears the highest. As I stood on the brink of the ledge the wind whirled up from the cavity with such furious violence that I could hardly keep my footing within twenty paces of it. The circumference of the black ledge of the nearly circular crater, described as nearly as my circumstances would allow me to ascertain, is six miles and a quarter. The ancient crater has an extent of about twenty-four miles. The depth of the ledge, from the highest part (perpendicular station on the East side) by an accurate measurement with a line and plummet, is twelve hundred and seventy feet: it appears to have filled up considerably all round; that part to the North of the circle seeming to have, at no very remote period, undergone the most violent activity, not by boiling and overflowing, nor by discharging under ground, but by throwing out

stones of immense size to the distance of miles around its opening, together with ashes and sand. Terrible chasms exist at the bottom, appearing, in some places, as if the mountain had been rent to its very roots; no termination can be seen to their depth, even when the eye is aided with a good glass, and the sky is clear of smoke and the sun shining brightly. Fearful, indeed, must the spectacle have been when this volcano was in a state of activity. The part to the South of the circle, where the outlet of the lava has evidently been, must have enjoyed a long period of repose. Were it not for the dykes on the West end, which show the extent of the ancient cauldron, and the direction of the lava, together with its proximity to the existing volcano, there is little to arrest the eye of the Naturalist over the greater portion of this huge dome, which is a gigantic mass of slag, scoriæ, and ashes. The barometer remained stationary during the whole period spent on the summit, nor was there any change in the temperature nor in the dew-point to-day. While passing, from eight to nine o'clock, over the ledges of lava of a more compact texture, with small but numerous vesicles, the temperature of the air being 36°, 37°, and the sun shining powerfully, a sweet musical sound was heard, proceeding from the cracks and small fissures, like the faint sound of musical glasses, but having at the same time, a kind of hissing sound, like a swarm of bees. This may, perhaps, be owing to some great internal fire escaping—or, is it rather attributable to the heated air on the surface of the rocks, rarefied by the sun's rays. In a lower region this sound might be overlooked, and considered to proceed, by possibility, from the sweet harmony of insects, but in this high altitude it is too powerful and remarkable not to attract attention. Though this day was more tranquil than the 12th, when I ascended Mouna Kuah, I could perceive a great difference in sound; I could not hear half so far as I did on that day when the wind was blowing strong. This might be owing to this mountain being covered with snow, whereas, on the 12th, Mouna Kuah was clear of it. Near the top I saw one small bird, about the size of a common sparrow, of a light mixed grey colour, with a faintly yellow beak—no other living creature met my view above the woody region. This little creature which was perched on a block of lava, was so tame as to permit me to catch it with my hand, when I instantly restored it its liberty. I also saw a dead hawk in one of the caves. On the East side of the black ledge of the Great Terminal Crater, is a small conical funnel of scoriæ, the only vent-hole of that substance that I observed in the crater. This mountain appears to be differently formed from Mouna Kuah; it seems to be an endless number of layers of lava, from different overflowings of the great crater. In the deep caves at Kapupala, two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the several strata are well defined, and may be accurately traced, varying in thickness with the intensity of

the action, and of the discharge that has taken place. Between many of these strata are layers of earth, containing vegetable substances, some from two feet to two feet seven inches in thickness, which bespeak a long state of repose between the periods of activity in the volcano. It is worthy of notice that the thickest strata are generally the lowest, and they become thinner towards the surface. In some places I counted twenty-seven of these layers, horizontal and preserving the declination of the mountain. In the caves which I explored near my camp, which are from forty to seventy feet deep, thin strata of earth intervene between the successive beds of lava, but none is found nearer the surface than thirteen layers. No trace of animal, shell or fish, could I detect in any of the craters or caves, either in this mountain or Mouna Kuah. At four P. M. I returned to the centre of the dome, where I found the three men whom I had left all huddling together to keep themselves warm. After collecting a few specimens of lava, no time was to be lost in quitting this dreary and terrific scene. The descent was even more fatiguing, dangerous and distressing than the ascent had proved, and required great caution in us to escape unhurt; for the natives, benumbed with cold, could not walk fast. Darkness came on all too quickly, and though the twilight is of considerable duration, I was obliged to halt, as I feared, for the night, in a small cave. Here, though sheltered from the N. W. breeze, which set in more and more strongly as the sun sank below the horizon, the thermometer fell to 19° , and as I was yet far above the line of vegetation, unable to obtain any materials for a fire, and destitute of clothing, except the thin garments soaked in perspiration in which I had travelled all day, and which rendered the cold most intense to my feelings, I ventured, between ten and eleven P. M. to make an effort to proceed to the camp. Never shall I forget the joy I felt when the welcome moon, for whose appearance I had long been watching, first showed herself above the volcano. The singular form which this luminary presented, was most striking. The darkened limb was uppermost, and as I was sitting in darkness, eagerly looking for her appearance on the horizon, I descried a narrow silvery belt, 4° to 5° high, emerging from the lurid fiery cloud of the volcano. This I conceived to be a portion of the light from the fire, but a few moments showed me the lovely moon shining in splendour in a cloudless sky, and casting a guiding beam over my rugged path. Her pale face actually threw a glow of warmth into my whole frame, and I joyfully and thankfully rose to scramble over the rough way, in the solitude of the night, rather than await the approach of day in this comfortless place. Not so, thought my followers. The bird-catcher and his two companions would not stir; so with my trusty man Calipio, who follows me like a shadow, I proceeded in the descent. Of necessity we walked slowly, stepping cautiously from ledge to ledge, but still having exercise enough to excite a genial heat. The splendid

constellation of Orion, which had so often attracted my admiring gaze in my own native land, and which had shortly passed the meridian, was my guide. I continued in a South-East direction till two o'clock, when all at once I came to a low place, full of stunted shrubs, of more robust habit, however, than those at the camp. I instantly struck a light, and found by the examination of my barometer, that I was nearly five hundred feet below the camp. No response was given to our repeated calls — it was evident that no human being was near, so by the help of the moon's light, we shortly collected plenty of fuel, and kindled a fine fire. No sooner did its warmth and light begin to diffuse themselves over my frame, than I found myself instantly seized with violent pain and inflammation in my eyes, which had been rather painful on the mountain, from the effect of the sun's rays shining on the snow; a slight discharge of blood from both eyes followed, which gave me some relief, and which proved that the attack was as much attributable to violent fatigue as any other cause. Having tasted neither food nor water since an early hour in the morning, I suffered severely with thirst; still I slept for a few hours, dreaming the while of gurgling cascades, overhung with sparkling rainbows, of which the dewy spray moistened my whole body, while my lips were all the time glued together with thirst and my parched tongue almost rattled in my mouth. My poor man, Calipio, was also attacked with inflammation in his eyes, and gladly did we hail the approach of day. The sun rose brightly on the morning of Thursday, January 30th, and gilding the snow over which we had passed, showed our way to have been infinitely more rugged and precarious than it had appeared by moon-light. I discovered that by keeping about a mile and a half too much to the East, we had left the camp nearly five hundred feet above our present situation; and returning thither over the rocks, we found Honori engaged in preparing breakfast. He had himself reached the camp about noon on the second day. He gave me a calabash full of water, with a large piece of ice in it, which refreshed me greatly. A few drops of opium in the eyes afforded instant relief both to Calipio and myself. The man with the provisions was here also, so we shortly made a comfortable meal, and immediately after, leaving one man behind with some food for the bird-catcher and his two companions, we prepared to descend, and started at nine A. M. to retrace the path by which we had come. Gratified though one may be at witnessing the wonderful works of God in such a place as the summit of this mountain presents, still it is with thankfulness that we again approach a climate more congenial to our natures, and welcome the habitations of our fellow-men, where we are refreshed with the scent of vegetation, and soothed by the melody of birds. When about three miles below the camp, my three companions of yesterday appeared like mawkins on the craggy lava, just at the very spot where I had come down. A signal was

made them to proceed to the camp, which was seen and obeyed, and we proceeded onwards, collecting a good many plants by the way. Arriving at Strawberry Well, we made a short halt to dine, and ascertained the barometer to be 25.750; air 57°, and the well 51°; dew 56°. There were vapoury, light clouds in the sky and a S. W. wind. We arrived at Kapupala at four P. M. The three other men came up at seven, much fatigued like myself. Bar. at Kapupala at eight P. M. 27.926; air 57°; and the sky clear.

This is the closing sentence of Mr. Douglas's Journal; penned, indeed, by the date, some months previous to the *letter* which immediately precedes this portion of the Journal (May 6, 1834), and which was certainly among the last, if it were not the very last, that he addressed to any friend in Europe, and that gave hopes of seeing him home at no distant period. Of the events which happened between that period and the melancholy accident which occasioned his death, a space of little more than two months, there is unfortunately, no information. The first knowledge of his decease, which reached one of the members of the family in this country, was in a peculiarly abrupt and painful manner. It was seen in a number of the *Liverpool Monthly*, by his brother, Mr. John Douglas, when looking for the announcement of the marriage of a near relative. He immediately set out for Glasgow, to communicate the unwelcome tidings to me; and in a few days they were confirmed on more unquestionable authority, by a letter from Richard Charlton, Esq., H. B. M. Consul at the Sandwich Islands, to James Bandinel, Esq., enclosing a most affecting document, relative to the event, from two Missionaries, the Rev. Joseph Goodrich and the Rev. John Diell, both of which I am anxious to record here in testimony of the deep interest felt by these gentlemen in the fate of our deceased friend; a feeling, indeed, which assuredly extended to all who knew him.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE MISSIONARIES OF HAWAII TO RICHARD
CHARLTON, ESQ., HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL
AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

HILO, Hawaii, July 15th, 1834.

DEAR SIR: Our hearts almost fail us when we undertake to perform the melancholy duty which devolves upon us, to communicate the painful intelligence of the death of our friend Mr. Douglas, and such particulars as we have been able to gather respecting this distressing providence. The tidings reached us when we were every moment awaiting his arrival, and expecting to greet him with a cordial welcome: but alas! He whose thoughts and ways are not as ours, saw fit to order it otherwise; and instead of being permitted to hail the *living* friend, our hearts have been made to bleed while performing the offices of humanity to his mangled corpse. Truly we must say, that the "ways of the Lord are mysterious, and His judgments past finding out!" but it is our unspeakable consolation to know, that those ways are directed by infinite wisdom and mercy, and that though "clouds and darkness are round about Him, yet righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne!" But we proceed to lay before you as full information as it is in our power to do at the present time, concerning this distressing event. As Mr. Diell was standing in the door of Mr. Goodrich's house yesterday morning, about eight o'clock, a native came up, and with an expression of countenance which indicated but too faithfully that he was the bearer of sad tidings, enquired for Mr. Goodrich. On seeing him, he communicated the dreadful intelligence, that the body of Mr. Douglas had been found on the mountains, in a pit excavated for the purpose of taking wild cattle, and that he was supposed to have been killed by the bullock that was in the pit, when the animal [he?] fell in. Never were our feelings so shocked, nor could we credit the report, till it was painfully affirmed as we proceeded to the beach, whither his body had been conveyed in a canoe, by the natives who informed us of his death. As we walked down with the native, and made further inquiries of him, he gave for substance the following relation: That on the evening of the 13th instant, the natives who brought the body down from the mountain came to his house at Laupashoohei, about twenty-five or thirty miles distant from Hilo, and employed him to bring it to this place in his canoe—the particulars which he learned from them were as follows: that Mr. D. left Rohala Point last week, in company with a foreigner (an Englishman), as a guide, and proceeded to cross Mouna Roa on the North side—that on the 12th he dismissed his guide, who cautioned him, on parting, to be very careful lest he should fall into the pits excavated for the purpose mentioned above; describing them as near the place where the cattle resorted to drink—that soon after Mr. D.

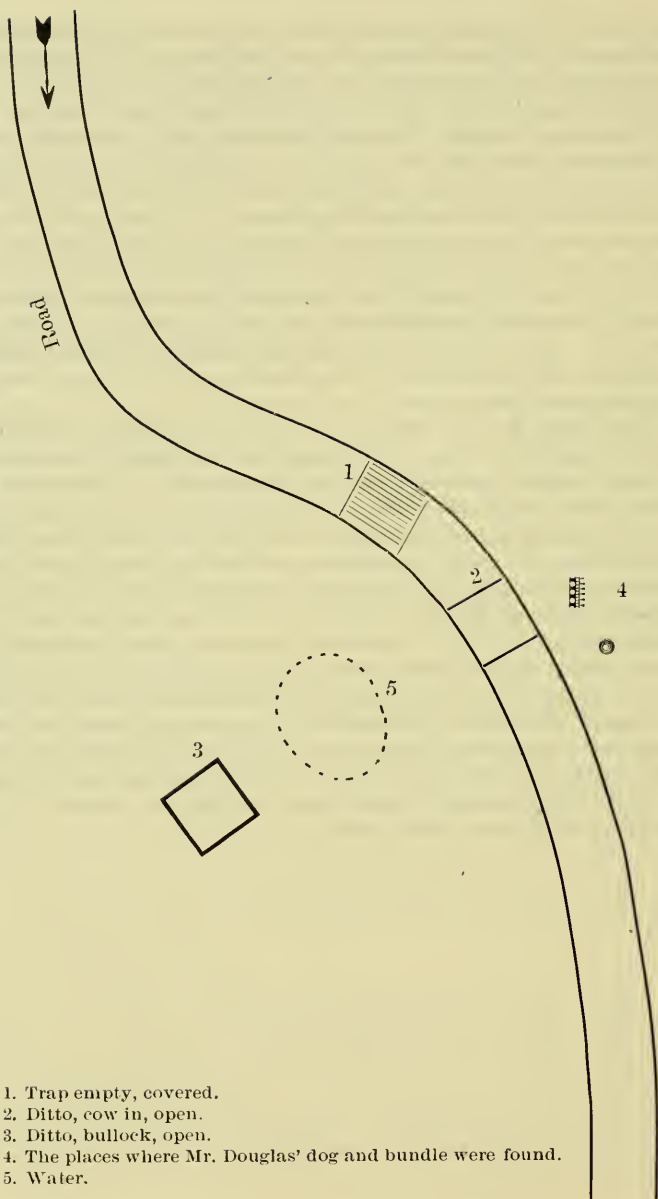
had dismissed his guide, he went back a short distance to get some bundle which he had forgotten, and that as he was retracing his steps, at some fatal moment he tumbled into one of the pits in which a bullock had previously fallen—that he there was found dead by these same natives, who, ignorant of the time of his passing, were in pursuit of cattle, and observed a small hole in one end of the covering of the pit. At first they conjectured that a calf had fallen in; but on further examination they discerned traces of a man's footsteps, and then saw his feet, the rest of his body being covered with dust and rubbish. They went in pursuit of the guide, who returned, shot the beast in the hole, took out the corpse, and hired the natives at the price of four bullocks, which he killed immediately, to convey the body to the seashore. He himself accompanied them, and procured the native who related the affair, to bring the corpse to this place, promising to come himself immediately, and that he would bring the compass-watch, which was somewhat broken, but still going; some money found in Mr. D.'s pocket; and the little dog, that faithful companion of our departed friend. Thus far the report of the native, who brought the corpse in his canoe, and who professes to relate the facts to us, as he learned them from the natives who came down the mountain. We do not stop at present to examine how far it is consistent or inconsistent with itself, as we have not the means of making full investigation into the matter. On reaching the canoe, our first care was to have the remains conveyed to some suitable place where we could take proper care of them, and Mr. Dibble's family being absent, it was determined to carry the body to his house. But what an affecting spectacle was presented as we removed the bullock's hide in which he had been conveyed!—we will not attempt to describe the agony of feeling which we experienced at that moment: Can it be he? Can it be he? we each exclaimed. Can it be the man with whom we parted but a few days before, and who was then borne up with so high spirits and expectations, and whom but an hour previously we were fondly anticipating to welcome to our little circle. The answer was but too faithfully contained in the familiar articles of dress—in the features, and in the noble person before us. They were those of our friend. The body, clothes, etc., appeared to be in the same state they were in when taken from the pit: the face was covered with dirt, the hair filled with blood and dust; the coat, pantaloons, and shirt considerably torn. The hat was missing. On washing the corpse, we found it in a shocking state: there were ten to twelve gashes on the head—a long one over the left eye, another, rather deep, just above the left temple, and a deep one, behind the right ear: the left cheek-bone appeared to be broken, and also the ribs on the left side. The abdomen was also much bruised, and also the lower parts of the legs. After laying him out,

our first thought was to bury him within Mr. Goodrich's premises ; but after we had selected a spot, and commenced clearing away the ground, doubts were suggested by a foreigner who was assisting us, and who has for some time been engaged in taking wild cattle, whether the wounds on the head could have been inflicted by a bullock. Mr. G. said that doubts had similarly arisen in his mind, while examining the body. The matter did not seem clear — many parts of the story were left in obscurity. How had Mr. Douglas been left alone — without any guide, foreign or native ? Where was John, Mr. Diell's coloured man, who had left Honolulu with Mr. Diell, and who, on missing a passage with him from Lahaina, embarked with Douglas, as we are informed by the captain of the vessel in which Mr. D. sailed from Lahaina to Rohala Point, and then left the vessel with Mr. D. on the morning of the 9th instant, in order to accompany him across the mountain to Hilo ? How was it that Mr. D. should fall into a pit when retracing his steps, after having once passed it in safety ? And if a bullock had already tumbled in, how was it that he did not see the hole necessarily made in its covering ? These difficulties occurred to our minds, and we deemed it due to the friends of Mr. D. and the public, whom he had so zealously and so usefully served, that an examination should be made of the body by medical men. The only way by which this could be effected, was by preserving his body, and either sending it to Oahu or keeping it till it could be examined. The former method seemed most advisable ; accordingly we had the contents of the abdomen removed, the cavity filled with salt, and placed in a coffin, which was then filled with salt, and the whole enclosed in a box of brine. Some fears are entertained whether the captain of the native vessel will convey the body ; this can be determined in the morning. After the corpse was laid in the coffin, the members of the Mission family and several foreigners assembled at the house of Mr. Dibble, to pay their tribute of respect to the mortal remains of the deceased, and to improve this affecting providence to their own good. Prayers were offered, and a brief address made ; and we trust that the occasion may prove a lasting blessing to all who were present. After the services were concluded, the body was removed to a cool native house, where it was enclosed in the box.

16th.—As neither the guide nor any natives have arrived, we have employed two foreigners to proceed to the place where the body was received on the sea-shore, with directions to find the persons who discovered it, and go with them to the pit, and after making as full inquiries as possible, to report to us immediately. So far as we can ascertain, the guide is an Englishman, a convict from Botany Bay, who left a vessel at these islands some years ago. He has a wife and one child with him, and to this circumstance in part may be attributed

his delay. There are two native vessels in port, besides the one about to sail to-day. By these vessels we shall apprise you of all the information we can obtain, and yet hope that the darkness which involves the subject may be removed. Mr. G. has just returned from the vessel about to sail to-day. The application to convey the remains of Mr. D. to Honolulu will, we fear, prove unsuccessful, as the cargo is already taken in, consisting of wood, canoes, food, etc. It is barely possible that a consent may yet be obtained; but if not, you must be so kind as to dictate what course is to be pursued. Should you deem it advisable to come up in person, we think that the body will be in such a state of preservation as will admit of its being examined upon your arrival. Meanwhile, we shall take all possible pains to procure information. The principal part of Mr. D.'s baggage, his trunks, instruments, etc., are in Mr. Goodrich's possession, who will take care of them, subject to your order.

Three o'clock P. M.—Edward Gurney, the Englishman spoken of before, has arrived, and our minds are greatly relieved, as to the probable way in which the fatal event was brought about. He states that on the 12th instant, about ten minutes before six in the morning, Mr. D. arrived at his house on the mountain, and wished him to point out the road, and go a short distance with him. Mr. D. was then alone, but said that his man had gone out the day before (this man was probably John, Mr. Diell's coloured man). After taking breakfast, Ned accompanied Mr. D. about three quarters of a mile, and after directing him in the path, and warning him of the traps, went on about half a mile further with him. Mr. D. then dismissed him, after expressing an anxious wish to reach Hilo by evening, thinking he could find out the way himself. Just before Ned left him, he warned him particularly of three bullock-traps, about two miles and a half ahead, two of them lying directly in the road, the other on one side, as exhibited in the following rude sketch:



1. Trap empty, covered.
2. Ditto, cow in, open.
3. Ditto, bullock, open.
4. The places where Mr. Douglas' dog and bundle were found.
5. Water.

Ned then parted with Mr. D. and went back to skin some bullocks which he had previously killed. About eleven o'clock, two natives came in pursuit of him, and said that the European was dead: that they had found him in a pit where a bullock was. They mentioned that as they were approaching this pit, one of them, observing some of the clothing on the side, exclaimed *Lole*, but in a moment afterwards discovered Mr. D. in the cave, trampled under the beast's feet. They immediately hastened back for Ned, who, leaving his work, ran into the house for a musket, ball and hide; and on arriving at the pit, found the bullock standing upon poor Douglas' body, which was lying on the right side. He shot the animal, and after drawing it to one side of the pit, succeeded in extricating the corpse. Douglas' cane was there, but not his dog and bundle: Ned knowing that he had the latter with him, asked for it. After a few moments search, the dog was heard to bark, at a little distance a-head on the road to Hilo. On coming up to the spot, indicated by No. 4, the dog and bundle were found. On further scrutiny, it appeared that Mr. D. had stopped for a moment and looked at the empty pit, No. 1,—and also at that where the cow was: and that after proceeding about fifteen fathoms up the hill, he had laid down his bundle and returned to the side of the pit where the bullock was entrapped, No. 3, and which was situated on the side of the pond opposite to that along which the road runs; and that whilst looking in, by making a false step, or some other fatal accident, he fell into the power of the infuriated animal, which speedily executed the work of death. The body was covered in part with stones, which probably prevented its being entirely crushed. After removing the corpse, Ned took charge of the dog and bundle, also of his watch and chronometer (which is injured in some way), his pocket compass, keys and money, and after hiring the natives to convey the body to the shore, a distance of about twenty-seven miles, came directly to this place. This narrative clears up many of the difficulties which rested upon the whole affair, and perhaps affords a satisfactory account of the manner in which Mr. D. met with his awful death. We presume that it would be agreeable to you that the body should be sent down, and as the vessel is still delayed by a calm, we hope to receive a favourable answer from the captain. If we should not, it may perhaps be well to inter the body, which can easily be disinterred for examination, if desirable.

We have thus, dear Sir, endeavoured to furnish you with all the particulars we have been able to gather concerning this distressing event. It is no common death which has thus called forth our tears and sympathies: it presents a most affecting comment on the truth, that "in the midst of life we are in death!" How forcible then is the admonition to all of us, whose privilege it was to be acquainted with him who is thus snatched from us, to "prepare to meet our God," "for the Son of Man cometh at an hour that we know not of." You will be

pleased, dear sir, to accept for yourself and family, the expression of our kindest sympathies under this afflicting dispensation, and allow us to subscribe ourselves, with sincere regard, your friends and obedient servants.

(Signed)

JOSEPH GOODRICH.
JOHN DIELL.

P. S. The bearer, Mr. Martin, will take charge of the little dog. There are several matters of expenses, incurred for conveying the body to this place, paying the natives, etc., which Mr. Goodrich will meet, so far as can be done, with the clothes, etc.,—of these and of Mr. D.'s other things, he will present a full statement.

A true copy.

RICHARD CHARLTON.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM MR. CHARLTON TO JAMES BANDINEL, ESQ.

(Inclosing the above.)

WOAHOO, August 6th, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR: It has devolved on me to inform you of the melancholy death of our friend, poor Douglas. On his arrival at this island from the Columbia River, he took the first opportunity of visiting Hawaii, where he remained for some time, with great satisfaction to himself and usefulness to the public. After his return to this island, he suffered much from rheumatism, but on the 3rd ultimo, finding himself quite recovered, he re-embarked for Hawaii. On the 19th ult. I received the accompanying letter from Messrs. Diell and Goodrich, two gentlemen belonging to the Mission: from it you will learn the particulars relative to his melancholy fate. On the 3rd instant, the body was brought here in an American vessel. I immediately had it examined by the medical gentlemen, who gave it as their opinion that the several wounds were inflicted by the bullock. I assure you that I scarcely ever received such a shock in my life. On opening the coffin, the features of our poor friend were easily traced, but mangled in a shocking manner, and in a most offensive state. The next day, I had his remains deposited in their last resting place; the funeral was attended by Captain Seymour and several of the officers of his Majesty's ship Challenger, and the whole of the foreign residents. I have caused his grave to be built over with brick, and perhaps his friends may send a stone to be placed (with an inscription) upon it. As I am about to embark in the Challenger tomorrow for Otaheite, I have left all his effects in the hands of my friend, Mr. Rooke, with a request to sell his clothing, and forward his collections, books, papers, and instruments to the Secretary of the Horticultural Society. One of his chronometers, reflecting circle, and dipping needle, are on board the Challenger, in charge of Capt.

Seymour. As I do not know the address of the friends of Mr. Douglas, I shall feel very much obliged to you to forward the copy of Messrs. Goodrich's and Diell's letter to them.

I remain, my dear sir, yours, etc.

(Signed)

RICHARD CHARLTON.

The little dog safely reached this country, and was given, we believe, to Mr. Bandinel. There have come also a box of birds; and besides the Californian collection already mentioned, several seeds and roots, a small herbarium, chiefly formed, it would appear, in New Caledonia, and another from the Sandwich Islands, consisting of not more than three hundred species. These it is our intention to publish with all convenient speed. A subscription is now in progress for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory in his native place; and we are sure that his name and his virtues will long live in the recollection of his friends.

W. J. H.

ACCESSIONS.

For the period ending November 30, 1905.

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Baptist Convention, The Sixteenth Annual Report of, at Puyallup, Washington, Oct. 6-9, 1903. 8vo, 58 pp. Illustrated.

Pacific Milling and Mining Co., Prospectus of: Location, North Fork of Santiam River, Marion County. Offices, Portland, Silverton. 8vo, 20 pp. Illustrated. Map.

Portland Post, The. Vol. 1, No. 1, November, 1905. 4to, 16 pp. Cover additional. Illustrated.

The Dalles Sorosis. Calendar for 1902-1903. 32mo, 16 pp.

— 1903-1904. 16mo, 16 pp.

— 1904-1905. 16mo, 16 pp.

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Live Stock Exhibit at Lewis and Clark Centennial, official catalogue of. Sept. 19-29, 1905. 8vo, 114 pp., and cover. Illustrated.

Entomology, Catalogue of the Exhibit of the Economic, at the Lewis and Clark Centennial, 1905. Compiled by Rolla P. Currie, of the Bureau of Entomology, Washington, D. C., 1905. 8vo, 128 pp.

Porter, Major General Fitz John. Review by the Judge-Advocate General of the Proceedings, and Sentence of a General Court-Martial held in Washington, D. C., for the trial of. Washington, D. C., 1863. 8vo, 32 pp.

Wonderland, 1896. By Olin D. Wheeler. The Country, The Cities, The Resorts, The Game found along the Northern Pacific Railroad. St. Paul, 1896. 8vo, 114 pp. Illustrated. Map.

Old Willamette Days. A Souvenir of Old Willamette University Days. Issued in memory of Lucy Anna Maria Lee, daughter of Rev. Jason Lee, born February 26, 1842, at Chemeketa, now Salem. Edited by Miss Ellen J. Chamberlain, 1905. 12mo, 38 pp. Portraits.

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Multnomah Falls, Legend of. By Susan Williamson Smith. Portland, 1905. 12mo, 44 pp. Illustrated. Deckle edges.

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Commission of Joseph L. Meek, the first United States Marshal of Oregon, and the first commission issued to an officer of Oregon Terri-

tory. Dated Washington, D. C., August 14, 1848; signed by James K. Polk, President, and countersigned by James Buchanan, Secretary of State. (Parchment.) (Donated by Stephen A. D. Meek, Glenoqe, Oregon.)

Commission of Joseph Lane as governor of Oregon Territory the second time. Issued on March 16, 1853; signed by Franklin Pierce, President, and countersigned by Wm. L. Marcy, Secretary of State. (Donated by Rev. Arthur Lane, Jacksonville, a grandson.)

Letter from Leander N. Beliew to his wife Mrs. Sarah Beliew, Luckiamute, Polk County, dated "Boggs' River Valley," May 28, 1849, descriptive of his trip thither, and experiences in the California mines.

Pioneer Days, Sketch of. By Tolbert Carter, a pioneer of 1846. Typewritten MS. (Letter and sketch presented by J. A. Carter, a son of Mr. Carter and grandson of Mr. Beliew, Wells, Oregon.)

RELICS.

Cartridge belt worn by W. G. Ritchey, now of Farmington, Wash., in Nez Percé Indian war of 1877, when Indians were led by Chief Joseph, and United States troops by Gen. O. O. Howard.

Purse found by W. G. Ritchey in yard of a miner on Salmon River, Idaho, who was murdered by Nez Percé Indians at beginning of the war of 1877. (Both articles from W. G. Ritchey, Farmington.)

Cutlas, from the armament of the steamship Great Republic, which belonged to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and ran from San Francisco to China for a number of years, beginning with 1867. During this period the vessel called at Ladrone Islands, occasionally, and it was generally necessary for the crew to be armed when they went ashore. The Great Republic was sold in 1878 to P. B. Cornwall of San Francisco, whereupon he placed her on the San Francisco-Portland route. She was wrecked on Columbia River bar April 19, 1879, and the cutlas secured by E. C. Holden, Astoria, who presented it to the Society.

Winchester rifle with which Howard Maupin killed Indian Chief Paulina in the Bannock Indian war in Eastern Oregon and Idaho, in 1878.

Knife made out of a file with which James Clark scalped Indian Chief Paulina during the Bannock war of 1878. Both implements passed through a fire in 1902.

(Rifle and knife donated by J. W. Robinson, Ashwood.)

Spencer carbine and muzzle-loading rifle barrel secured by Doctor Stewart, Goldendale, from Memaloose Island, Columbia River, in 1890.

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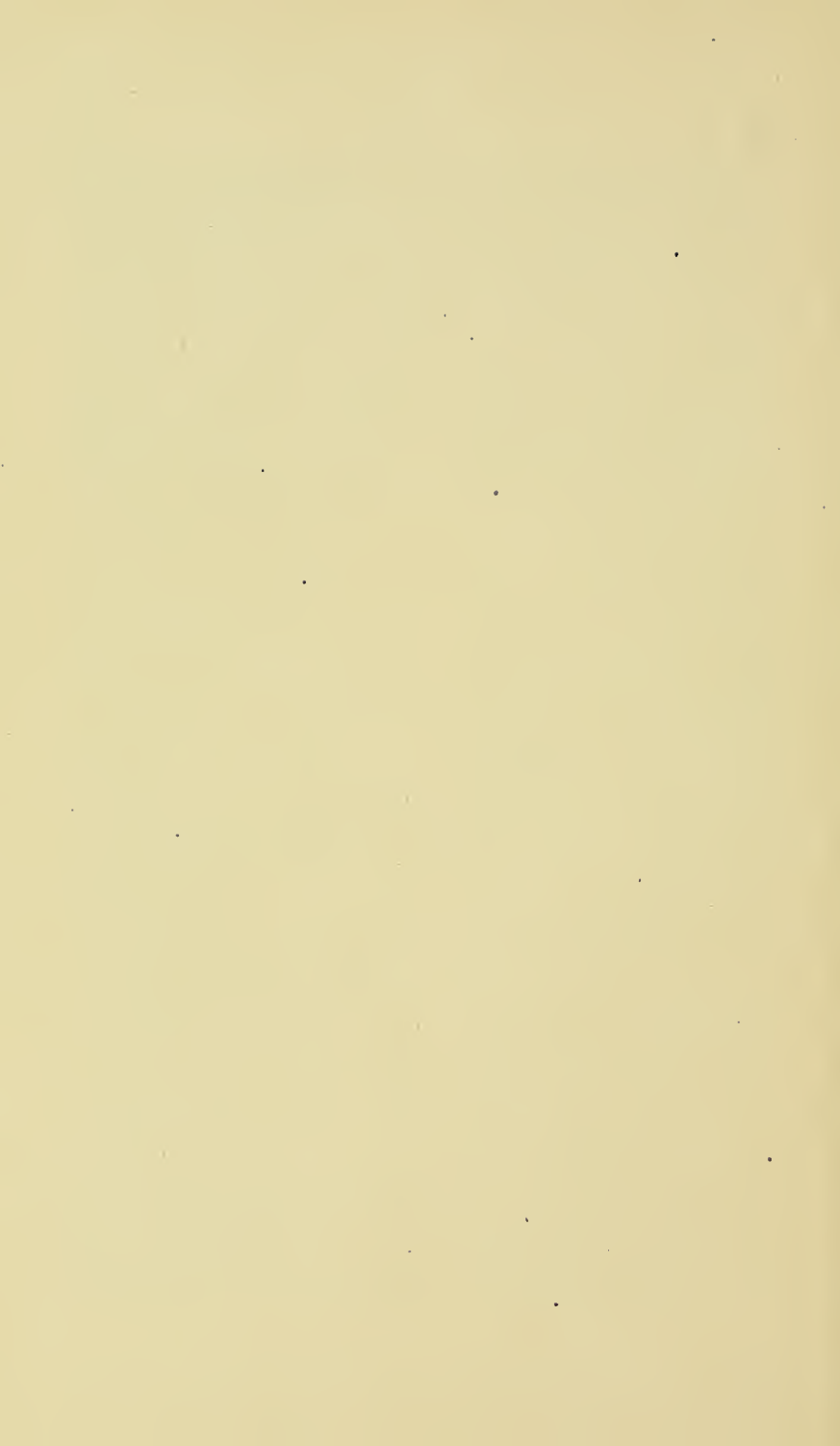
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